

Euphemism in English and Japanese: A Pragmatic Contrastive Study

by
Hiroshi Hasegawa

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis does not contain material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university; nor does it contain material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated euphemistic forms and functions of English and Japanese by using contrastive analysis as well as considering the views on euphemism of Japanese English-language speakers and Australian Japanese-language speakers.

In order to achieve these goals, four Research Objectives (RO) were addressed. RO1 aimed to identify the functions of euphemistic expressions in terms of communication. RO2 aimed to investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism. The purpose of RO3 was to examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts. RO4 investigated how euphemistic expressions are handled by Japanese people learning English as a second/foreign language and Australians learning Japanese as a second/foreign language, when faced with sociolinguistic difficulties.

RO1 was addressed by an extensive literature review. A combination of quantitative and qualitative studies was used to investigate RO2, RO3 and RO4. The quantitative method, which was questionnaire based, targeted 272 students from universities in Japan and 176 students from universities in Australia. This addressed parts of RO2 and RO3. The qualitative method, which involved interviews with eight Australians and Japanese (who were in the target country when the interviews were conducted) was utilised for RO2, RO3 and RO4.

The results of the investigations showed the language learners' communication difficulties caused by euphemistic, dysphemistic and doublespeak locutions in the target language. The results also indicated clearly the relevance of these three entities, which can be utilised interchangeably according to the speaker's purposes, the different desirable semantic outcomes and the inclusion of intermingled elements of communication settings. The outcomes of the research provide a valuable means of establishing an understanding of how and why euphemisms are currently exploited in both Japanese and English; this is an area that has only been touched upon in previous educational research.

The study concluded that promoting the contexts in which euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak are used in social settings will potentially enhance the effective second/foreign language education. The framework of the analysis presented, along with the research outcomes, facilitated the researcher's development of some sample lesson plans which could be used to improve communicative strategies, especially for Australians learning the Japanese language and Japanese learning English.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Australian Female(s)
AM	Australian Male(s)
A-Q	Part A Questions (variables) in the Questionnaire
B-Q	Part B Questions (variables) in the Questionnaire
JF	Japanese Female(s)
JM	Japanese Male(s)
LOTE	Languages Other Than English
PC	Political(ly) Correct(ness)
PIC	Political(ly) Incorrect(ness)
RO	Research Objectives
SEFL	Speakers of English as a First Language
SJFL	Speakers of Japanese as a First Language
SUA	Student(s) of University(ies) in Australia
SUJ	Student(s) of University(ies) in Japan
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

There are various ways in which a person interprets the impressions of his/her own senses. Neglect of particular language registers and forms can easily be interpreted as offensive and can then cause a breakdown in an interaction. On the other hand, skilful manipulation of the diverse registers and forms can result in satisfactory communication between interlocutors. In all languages there are various polite terms which, if used in conventional ways and perceived as euphemisms in social practices, can serve as vehicles to demonstrate that the addresser has a desire to promote positive human communication.

Expository and explanatory accounts of various kinds of euphemistic expressions have flourished in human interaction for two quite antithetical purposes, namely euphemism and dysphemism. Allan and Burridge (1991) describe these identical but contrary entities as follows;

Euphemism is characterized by avoidance language and evasive expression; that is, [s]peaker uses words as a protective shield against the anger or disapproval of natural or supernatural beings. If this seems too negative, we can alternatively describe euphemism as 'expression that seeks to avoid being offensive.' Dysphemism is, roughly speaking, the contrary of euphemism (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 3).

It is not by mistake that the contextual function develops from utilisation of euphemism and dysphemism in a statement. Sankoff's study shows that comprehension of the formula is determined by different contexts such as the type of interlocutors and propinquity of role-relationships, venues in which the communication occurs, types of interaction, and its use as medium (as cited in Clyne, 1991, p. 113). In addition, 'Domains', 'Topic', 'Channel of communication', 'Type of interaction', and 'Phatic function' (Clyne, 1991, pp. 192-193) contribute to understanding of the addressors' and addressees' perspectives because they are frequently interchangeable and may easily

result in the transfer of misinformation and/or unexpected interpretation. Since this type of dilemma arises frequently within a homogeneous language and cultural context, it is not surprising that it exists more strongly in foreign language contact situations. The context comprehension, therefore, should not be taken for granted especially where the communication practised by interlocutors involves a non-native speaker. This thesis will compare and contrast the pragmatic usage of euphemism, including dysphemism and doublespeak, in the English and Japanese languages. Applicable features of euphemism to language education will be identified after discovering the implications of and solutions to the difficulties caused by euphemistic locutions in the target language.

In this thesis, two terms, *original language* and *target language*, are utilised in order to avoid misunderstandings which occasionally occur when engaging terms such as *first* and *second language* in a multicultural educational environment. In Japanese language classes at universities in Australia, for example, Japanese is the *target language* while the *original language* refers to English. Terms such as *original culture* and *target culture* are also used to correspond to original language and target language respectively. Following are the introductory sections explaining the structure of this thesis.

1.2 RESEARCH BACKGROUND

English is spoken by a large number of people. Approximately 320 to 380 million people speak English in inner-circle countries where it is used as the mother tongue, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Due to English colonialism, English in outer-circle countries such as Bangladesh, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, and Tanzania is currently utilised as the official language, and is spoken by 150 to 300 million people. Japan is one of the countries regarded as being in the third category, an expanding circle in which 100 to 1000 million people use and/or learn English as their foreign language (Azuma, 1997; Crystal, as cited in McKay, 2000; Savignon, 2002). These statistics confirm that English is indeed the international language and plays the major role of lingua franca on a global scale.

Engagement of a mono-language does not automatically imply smooth interaction in multicultural contexts. The rapidly increasing demand to be able to interact in English is, in some senses, increasing the possibility of communication breakdowns between non-native speakers of English. It is not difficult to imagine that the interaction practised by those from inner-circle countries does not always result in successful communication, as is usually the case where English is the first language. This can be applied to more extensively conceptualised situations where the possibility of communication breakdowns increases when interactions are taking place between those who speak English as a second/foreign language. For example, a communication breakdown is the common phenomenon observed in the interaction in English between interlocutors from countries in the previously described expanding circle.

Australia is a multicultural country of 'immigrants, rich in the language resources of a multiplicity of ethnic groups' (Baldauf, Jr. & Djite, 2000, p. 231). To promote awareness of the value of cultural diversities, its Local, State and Commonwealth Governments have been encouraged to introduce foreign language programs such as Languages Other Than English (LOTE) from primary to tertiary level, for the purpose of developing foreign language ability and cultural understanding. The percentage of students in Year 12 language programs in Australia in 1996 was 14.45% of the total enrolments (24,670/170,729) (Baldauf, Jr. & Djite, 2000). This emphasis on LOTE suggests increasing opportunities to encounter interactions in a contact situation, where a native speaker of the target language meets a non-native speaker, in the academic, social or business spheres. There are considerable dilemmas which can result in communication breakdown in a contact situation, deriving from the chasm between the first and second language (Lightbown & Spada, 1993). Asaoka (1987), Neustupny (1982, 1985, 1987) and Wolfson (1989) refer to the knowledge about sociolinguistic rules as playing a significant part in communicative strategy.

The term 'communication problem' as used in the present context is not confined to grammatical competence; it goes beyond the rules of grammar and vocabulary and refers to problems in the use of 'communicative competence' as defined in contemporary sociolinguistics (Asaoka, 1987, p. 1).

Neustupny (1987) points out that the following three crucial competencies, linguistic, cultural and communicative, play prime roles in determining successful intercultural communication. For successful communication to occur, these competencies should be performed at an extensive level so that, from the perspective of language education, constant engagement with the elements embedded in them are recognised and practised to enable students to utilise them in contact situations. At this point it should not be overlooked that these competencies are affiliated with each other and cannot be separated into three individual entities. For example, issues related to political correctness, lies, and humour and jokes are especially difficult to comprehend and perform correctly according to the target language, culture and communication styles of non-native speakers of the target language. The overt reason behind this is that they are all rooted in the effective demonstration of the three competencies, which can be viewed here as a fundamental element: semantic distortion. In effect, euphemism has an important influence on the problematic element that creates the major difficulties in a contact situation. One can express his/her own feelings in various styles in one language. In other words, the language is not always used as formulations but interchanged according to the context. Creation of offensiveness and appropriate attitude relies primarily on the forms of the language one uses. Burchfield (1985) points out that the term *euphemism* was first registered in English in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* in 1656. It originated from Greek *eu* (good) and *pheme* (speech or saying), and literary implies 'to speak with good words or in a pleasant manner' (Neaman & Silver, 1990, p. 1).

This thesis was motivated by the researcher's interest in the use of euphemism in English and Japanese. It was based on empirical observations of interaction and communication practised between large numbers of people and observed in various forms of mass media. It was discovered through these observations that almost all types of communication can be expressed euphemistically. This indicates that euphemisms are very wide-ranging and embedded in all areas of our daily lives. Therefore, the exploitation of human beings through euphemism might contain the hidden ingredients for fascinating innovations in language education. This means that the examination of

euphemism may lead to implications and solutions for the difficulties caused in many interactions in contact situations, and may be one of the great contributing factors for successful second/foreign language education. In achieving this there is a demand for acute insights into and extensive theory of euphemistic components pervasive in literal arguments, knowledge of sociological and psychological influenced motivations and misleading accounts of the concrete demonstrations, as well as the ability to recognise critically founded assumptions based on people's direct voices.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

It is a traditional approach to commence the collection of information and cultivate expertise in a particular field. The literature review equips the researcher with new horizons and discoveries, and informs him/her about the theoretical stances of other scholars. Nevertheless, it is necessary to tackle deeper ideas and form one's own opinions which should be based on empirical information leading to critical examination of the topic, so that it should not be strictly organised by just a single approach. This study first investigates the euphemistic forms and functions of English and Japanese, from a contrastive analytical perspective in the traditional approach, from the perspectives of various scholars researching this area and literary work on euphemism, its elements and issues. Then the investigation moves on to a critical examination of the views on euphemism of Japanese English speakers (English as a second/foreign language) and Australian Japanese speakers (Japanese as a second/foreign language).

Successful research needs to be directed by clearly stated reasons as to why it is conducted. The forms of this direction are the research objective and hypothesis (Dixon & Bouma, 1984). Since inductive paradigm is the main approach utilised by this research, objectives rather than hypotheses were considered at this stage.¹ Second/foreign language education is intimately associated with its culturally, socially and psychologically diverse contexts. It seems to be a difficult task to formulate knowledge in the target language in order to create smooth interaction between

¹ Discussion about inductive paradigm will be made in Chapter 6: 6.3.1.

interlocutors. There must be various hypotheses but providing a range of possible inferences and seeking the language learners' insights will provide some clues to identifying and breaking through the difficulties arising in intercultural communication.

Based on these arguments, this thesis attempts to discover the essence of smooth intercultural communication, focusing on euphemistic functions in English and Japanese used and understood by non-native speakers. It will aim at identifying pragmatic principles for second/foreign language education with regard to euphemism usage for Japanese students who study English as a second/foreign language and Australian students who learn Japanese as a second/foreign language. Thus the following Research Objectives (RO) which led to this aim were set up;

- RO1: To identify the functions of euphemistic expressions in terms of communication.
- RO2: To investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism.
- RO3: To examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts.
- RO4: To investigate how euphemistic expressions are handled by Japanese people learning English as a second/foreign language and Australians learning Japanese as a second/foreign language, when faced with sociolinguistic difficulties.

RO1 concentrates on the discovery of the function of euphemistic expressions which can be observed in human communication in both the interlocutor's first and target languages. This will be achieved by scrutinising the broad and informative literature published by various scholars and journalists.

RO2 has been designed to investigate the characteristic situations where and when positive and negative aspects of euphemism appear. In order to discuss this, central issues should emerge clearly from the participants' distinctive accounts. This process of exploring participants' accounts will be undertaken to provide clues for RO3 and RO4, which will be explored in the following sections.

RO3 will examine native and non-native speakers' ideas and their behavioural formulae with regard to euphemism, and identify the significant characteristics of euphemism recognised in contact situations.

The final research objective, RO4 will identify the strategies used to cope with problematic scenarios when encountering euphemisms. Instinctive awareness cultivated by the participants residing in the target country, utilising the target language as the medium, could result in significant implications for non-native speakers learning the target language.

These research objectives based on the functions of euphemism are deeply associated with human communication mechanism which current theoretical discussion on second/foreign language acquisition focuses on. Mainstream current theories, as Jordan (2004) introduces, are Noam Chomsky's Universal Grammar approach; observing language as cognitive phenomenon, Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional perspectives; ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions, and Lyle Bachman's framework for Communicative Language Ability which is composed by language competence, strategic competence and psychophysiological mechanisms. Exploitation of linguistic phenomenon under their theories frequently touches euphemistic functions at certain degrees, so investigation of ROs and framework for this study will be able to provide useful information for language teaching practice.

Consequently the prime research aims become neither to collect broadly extensive euphemistic vocabulary items and expressions, nor to shape the statistical evidence and prove a hypothetical theory. It is rather to gain insight into the euphemistic functions utilised by non-native speakers of the target language. This outcome will lead to the mainstream study aim, which seeks significant implications of and solutions for the difficulties caused by euphemistic locutions in the target language, in order to create innovative second/foreign language lessons in the future.

Conventionally the framework for academic work has been designed in two ways. One is the type of work concerned with philosophically orientated discussions. Numerous scholars including renowned theorists such as the three academics mentioned above, have developed their arguments and beliefs based not on quantitatively demonstrated supplements and/or endorsement, but instead primarily on their critical examination of concepts and theoretical frameworks.

The other type of framework for academic research includes a broad range of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic literary work that has been presented empirically to attempt to validate perpetuated hypotheses and newly enhanced ideological stances. It seems to be inappropriate that arguments about euphemism and its application in language education should be developed by the first paradigm, since philosophically oriented theory is unfortunately often separated from practical reality. In addition, the function of euphemism is identified as an indispensable part of our language use and consequently should be focused on further within language education, broadly overlapping with the interdisciplinary spheres such as sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives. As long as linguistic mechanism, anatomy and the pragmatic usage of language are concerned, two research paradigms are not unrelated to each other. Thus they may produce distinctive outcome and enhance the achievement of the research objectives shown above. Therefore the application of both frameworks naturally becomes the rationale of the discussion for this study on euphemisms within language education.

This thesis contains two major components: part one is Critical Examination of the Euphemistic Issues and Concepts Related to the Sphere of Sociolinguistics and Psycholinguistics; and part two is Discovery, Description and Exploration of Empirical Studies on Euphemism.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

This study mainly deals with euphemism and its discussion also includes related concepts and issues. These provide useful insights into euphemism in broad contexts

such as applied linguistics, intercultural communication, socioculturally motivated issues including prejudice and discrimination, and second/foreign language education including TESOL and LOTE.

The study contributes important insights into applied linguistics and intercultural communication. As mentioned previously, this study's purpose is to explore the functions of euphemism and concepts of the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of the use of euphemism in contact situations from both native and non-native speakers' perspectives. The term *general semantics*, which was coined by Alfred Korzybski, has received frequent focus and has been used as a basis for many scholastic works. His ideology of general semantics was a theoretically motivated stance correspondent with human perspective and behaviour models that were based on this term (as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966). Therefore the term has been adopted for this study because to scrutinise euphemism, a language device which is profoundly linked with general semantics, involves taking note of the issues discussed by those scholars within the fields of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics.

This also enhances the sociocultural motivation, including the pragmatic areas of politeness strategies and social motivation as well as linguistic restriction. Since language restriction can be discussed over broadly oriented and interdisciplinary fields, the focus will be on euphemism in relation to discrimination and human perception towards the use of euphemism.

All languages contain a form categorised as euphemism, which is designed to protect a speaker from being offensive and/or to demonstrate a positive attitude towards interlocutors. Since its engagement is mainly unconscious, native speakers in general do not focus their attention on euphemism. However, it would be considered a very complex factor by foreign language learners when required to understand terms and concepts in the target language and culture. This leads to the framework employed conventionally in second/foreign language class, which is to enhance and introduce what students need to know rather than focusing on the significant ways in which they can

communicate smoothly, using alternative ways and expressions in the target language. In order to become a communicatively fluent language user, which most educational institutions in recent second/foreign language education in Australia and Japan aim for, the framework adopted for this study is more effective to discuss the findings of euphemism use and adopt into the current second/foreign language class.

Thus the outcomes of this research could have significant implications for linguistic salience and could result in improved communicative strategies for Australians learning Japanese language and Japanese learning English language. The research outcomes can be utilised to establish an understanding of the characteristic exploitation of euphemisms in both Japanese and English; a sphere which has only been touched upon in previous educational research. It can then be applied in second/foreign language education as a worthy resource for both teachers and students. Suggested strategies and approaches are described extensively in the last chapter of this thesis.

It is believed that the key issues of second/foreign language teaching examined by this study have not previously been researched fully, hence the understanding derived from this study will become a useful guide for educators involved in second/foreign language education and will facilitate new approaches to second/foreign language curriculum design.

1.5 SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

No research is able to represent precisely and accurately all the features of the entire target population. It is inevitable that there will be some limitations to the design, and it is important to give careful consideration to these (Charles, 1998). This research is no exception, and the limitations will therefore be identified at this stage.

Human interaction in any type of setting usually avoids or disguises anything unpleasant or embarrassing. Euphemism has therefore flourished across multiple themes, topics and domains, which caused difficulties in choosing a focus for analysing euphemisms at the early stage of this study. Thus, in Part I, critical discourse analysis from a purely

linguistic perspective has been attempted. This was mainly chosen because of the belief that a great deal of the discussion pertaining to the significant characteristics of euphemism can be identified more systematically from a linguistic perspective than from individual paradigms where euphemisms can be identified. The segments of linguistics frequently scoped in critical discourse analysis can be split into two portions, stylistically and structurally motivated segments. In this study, cardinal segments have been extracted, placed in two separate fields, and examined with respect to their characteristics and the critical viewpoints of other researchers in regard to euphemism.

Secondly, socioculturally motivated discussion was used in this study. According to Gibson's description (1974), euphemisms are prominent in areas such as sex and decency, commerce, government and war but have foundations in a number of other fields such as medical, academic, legal, and religious topics. Some segments can be merged with one another as new euphemisms appear and aging euphemisms phase out (Cooper, 1993). This cycle results in functional classifications of euphemisms, so that there are more occurrences of multiple domains such as euphemism in socially influential factors, dominated by political correctness (PC) and censorship. Lehman (1999, p. 51) elaborates that PC is 'the euphemism made instinctive. It is the systematic substitution of wish – fulfilment of reality'. This comment conveys the importance of PC and its related entity, censorship, which led the researcher to concentrate on prejudice and discrimination in the spheres of gender, race and disability. Consequently, the latter section of this chapter discusses the way euphemism is motivated by psychological factors to explain the euphemistic functions related to PC and censorship issues.

The fourth section of Part I (Chapter 5) contributes to the argument that euphemism is utilised to shield others from harsh and discordant realities. The impossibility of scrutinising all elements in many interdisciplinary fields led the researcher to classify euphemism into three primary areas: lexical effectiveness, techniques of euphemistic ellipsis, and topical inconsistency. These are examined from various scholars'

ideological stances in the light of how euphemism is used to describe everyday items and functions, events and incidents in modern society.

In Part II, the first point to be highlighted is that the observation was of certain contexts only, due to the fact that euphemism is such a broad linguistic category. There are various contexts which can be considered when analysing the small elements of communicative language such as speech styles, registers, speech situations, speech events and speech acts.

Also, the research design meant that the outcomes could depend heavily upon the participants' personal backgrounds and unique perspectives. Familiarity with certain terms does not always imply the demonstration or the proper usage of these. Therefore, it does not seem possible to establish systematic formulae for the data collection and research outcomes. However, the results of this research might give an indication of euphemistic factors which influence the use of the target language for creating effective lessons for Australian Japanese language teachers and Japanese English language teachers and their learners.

Lexical selection for the questionnaire is also limited in the present study. However it was impossible to compare and contrast the difference between denotatively and connotatively identical euphemistic expressions in English and Japanese because individual language has its own character and uniqueness, so that many equivalent terms in one language cannot be found in or adequately translated into another. As a result, distinctively similar euphemistic terms that could be found in both English and Japanese were utilised for this purpose.

There were also some inevitable limitations to the research methodology. However, careful design enabled these limitations to be kept to a minimum and the results will have pragmatic value in spite of the limitations. First, the Japanese interview participants' backgrounds differed from the Australian participants' backgrounds and could not be unified due to the small numbers of Australian participants with ideal

backgrounds for the study. The ideal criteria for inclusion in the study specified that the subjects should be Australian university students who had stayed in Japan for a period of over 12 months and studied at a university in Japan. Alternatively, unlike the Japanese participants who were university students in Australia, the Australian subjects were included as long as they had spent over 12 months living in Japan and had studied Japanese as their major when they were university students in Australia.

Multiple interviews, with each participant being interviewed at least twice, satisfied the need to check the accuracy of the interviews since the participants had sufficient time to subconsciously consider their personal uses of euphemisms between the first and the following interviews. This interview technique inevitably required a long interview period divided by frequent visits to the participants, who were staying in various places in the target countries (Australia and Japan) at the time the research was conducted. Considering that not all participants were available to attend the appropriate interview venue at the appropriate time, this proposal became unrealistic and it was necessary to make slight changes. Alternatively, copies of the questionnaires and details of the study were sent to potential interviewees to peruse at their leisure in order to prepare for the interview process which was conducted at a location and time suitable for the participant.

Conducting the questionnaire by e-mail sounds very practical and efficient. Nevertheless, due to the guidelines set up by the Ethics Committee of the University of Tasmania, an information page with the university title-head should have been attached. Also, the Japanese version of the questionnaires, which contained the same content as those printed in English for Australian participants, was required for the Japanese participants. There were potential technical problems in achieving this because illegible computer text was anticipated due to the differences in computer hardware and software and it was expected that this problem could affect the process of disturbing and collecting online questionnaires. Moreover, because of the large number of questions (total: 67) contained in the questionnaires, participants' enthusiasm for completing all questions and their motivation to return the questionnaire form to the researcher could

potentially be affected adversely. Considering those assumptions, mailing the research questionnaires in hard copy was considered to be the most efficient approach for this research. Apart from these major limitations, other minor limitations encountered in the progress of the study will be identified in appropriate sections and chapters, to ensure the cohesiveness of this thesis. Chapter 9 will provide a clear summary of the scope in accordance with two categories: *limitations* and *delimitations*.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Section 1.3 of this chapter mentioned that ideology which is conceptually orientated and that which is empirically orientated are both broad but not unrelated. Thus, in order to cover both of these ideologies, the content of this thesis has been divided into two major parts. Part I is constituted of critical examination of the euphemistic issues and concepts related to the sphere of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, and Part II is composed of discovery, description and exploration of empirical studies on euphemism.

Part I (conceptually and theoretically orientated reference) including Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5, examines the extensive theoretical assumptions surrounding euphemism drawn from people's beliefs and opinions about euphemism. It also explores the theoretical significance of euphemism by utilising the strategies of collecting critical accounts and interpretations of euphemism. Part II (empirically and pragmatically orientated perpetuation), incorporating Chapters 6, 7, and 8, represents data about the conventional nature and individual discovery of euphemism. Application of the expertise on euphemism and its associated elements identified in both Parts I and II leads to implications for designing classes in second/foreign language education, which will be explored in Chapter 9.

Chapter 2 highlights the way knowledge of euphemisms develops, including distinctive features characterising the understanding of euphemism by native and non-native speakers of the target language from a large number of authors' perspectives and literal references. This chapter first defines the main topics of this research including euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak. The argument will then be developed further

to consider the functions and motivations of these three types of euphemistic language use, distinctions between them and their stylistic and structural classifications. Stylistic classification is composed of figurative imagery including metaphor and remodelling, one-for-one substitution, general or specific/part for whole, under/overstatement, and canting. Sub-categories, especially identified as jargon, slang and loanwords, are also included within the canting section, followed by a section on linguistic variations. The section on structural classification features language simplification, showing omission, clipping, acronym and abbreviation and circumlocution. Following this description, factors associated with those euphemistically utilised language characters and their literal reinforcement (e.g., George Orwell's work) will be referred to. In this chapter, the researcher also considers the significance of euphemism for the whole of the study, including the establishment of the extensive conceptualisation of euphemism as well as the identification of the various types of euphemism and their functions. This is combined with the discovery of the problems surrounding the use of euphemism in language learning.

Chapter 3 explores the systematic factors motivating euphemisms and their establishment process, from sociological perspectives. This chapter highlights linguistic restrictions and limitations that occur in reaction to political correctness (PC) and censorship as a prelude to issues pertaining to the decisive factors involved in formulating euphemism. Main foci of the section on PC/censorship include sexism, expletives and curses, racism and ethnicity, and disability and ageism, while power structure, groupism, intimacy and types of interaction are also included.

Chapter 4 explores the psychologically oriented factors which manifest euphemisms, commencing with the universal concepts of comprehension, followed by multithink and doublethink: extensional world and intensional world, self-fulfilling prophecy, creating problematic sources out of non-problematic entities, cognitive dissonance: belief/policy persistence and prominent sources of bias.² After demonstrating the sociological and psychological factors, the discussion will focus on cultural aspects and diversity between

² Condon, Jr. (1966) introduces the term *intensional*, which is used throughout this thesis.

Japan and English-speaking countries, introducing code decipherment, cognitive map and high/low context theory.

Chapter 5 addresses mechanisms of euphemistic rhetoric. The characteristics of exploiting semantic rhetoric were divided into three streams for analysis: (1) lexical effectiveness, (2) euphemistic ellipsis and (3) topic inconsistency. These streams were included because of the need to be vigilant for misleading statements created by euphemisms, especially doublespeak. Each stream presents reification cohesive with the socially perceived linguistic use. (1) Lexical effectiveness is produced by weasel words and unfamiliar lexical items and locutions demonstrating loanwords, coinage and shortness. (2) Euphemistic ellipsis concentrates various instances of segment exclusions, for example omission, comparison to unspecified entities, insufficient background information, and distinctive downsizing/Webster's law which are broadly exploited in the commercial strategies. Also, (3) topic inconsistency is presented by a narrative account of two controversial themes: perceptions about whaling between Australia and Japan and humanitarianism towards Australian Aborigines, and comparing militarily motivated acts of Japan's Imperial Army in the period before and during World War II. These themes allowed for exploitation of euphemism in the setting of unique semantic environments. This chapter also discusses the linguistic analogy of definition and classification, which are arbitrarily formed and designated with insufficient reification and demonstrated by prizes and awards, signs and size indicators.

Chapter 6 depicts the details of the two contrastive research methods: quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interviews) including the essence of the research; the methods and tools; the selection of certain euphemistic terms and expressions; descriptions of the participants; the study period; the data collection and analysis procedures; ethics considerations; research significance and limitations; and the pilot study.

Chapter 7 describes the analysis and interpretation of the qualitatively collected data. Since euphemisms are present in many social contexts and in a broad range of topics, it

seemed to be plausible to base the framework for this chapter on the same characteristics of euphemism and topics used in the questionnaire. This chapter also explores the way in which the data were analysed and interpreted and the conceptualisation that developed from this.

Chapter 8 describes the analysis of qualitative data according to the two main themes: (1) political correctness and censorship and (2) linguistic and interactive functions. These incorporated nine sub-themes relating to the interview participants' insights. Each of these sub-themes is explored in order to identify possible triggers causing the euphemisms and euphemistic expressions encountered by the interview participants.

Chapter 9 is the conclusion, reflecting on the discussion developed throughout the rest of the thesis. This chapter begins with a review of the knowledge about euphemism that can be used in the second/foreign language teaching context, referring to expertise and characteristic natures discovered by an investigation of euphemistic forms and functions of English and Japanese from a contrastive analytical perspective and the learners' views about euphemism in both their native language and their target language. It is then followed by a discussion of the implications of this study for second/foreign language education, particularly focusing upon Australian Japanese language learners and Japanese English learners.

To summarise above, each research objective (RO) explained in Section 1.3 will be explored in the chapter as follows: RO1 will be explored in Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5; RO2 in Chapters 7 and 8; RO3 in Chapters 7 and 8; and RO4 in Chapter 8. An in-depth scrutiny of those ROs reveals implications for the research aim, which will be discussed in Chapter 9.

1.7 CONCLUSION

This thesis presents a critical examination of the core values of euphemism and dysphemism and their functions in English and Japanese. These functions emerge naturally within statements. A statement can basically be categorised as the selection of

an appropriate expression within a given context reflecting both the field being discussed and the field where the discussion takes place (Goddard, 1998; Lutz, 1996). Thus, euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak can be utilised interchangeably according to the speaker's purposes, e.g., the different desirable semantic outcomes and the inclusion of intermingled elements of communication settings within the discussion. In addition, the term euphemism usually refers to noun phrases, names and labels, yet a number of euphemisms serve as modifiers, which provide more information such as both pre- and post-modification. These fundamental but easily forgotten realities of language will be examined critically in the following chapters along with explorations of extensive examples.

Furthermore, it is important to consider the significance of the context in which euphemism is employed in a social discourse in the foreign language. If people using simply literal interpretation in the target language (or society) comprehend the superficial context yet no explanation is provided to adjust the chasm between languages and allow for flexibility of expression or translation beforehand, euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions can be potentially misunderstood. The large scale of divergent common perspectives embedded in the two different languages produces more possibilities for conflict to occur because euphemism and dysphemism are not the only ways of expressing certain concepts or describing situations, even within the monolingually motivated environment. These are fundamental but easily forgotten realities of language which should be remembered when reading the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2

CLASSIFICATIONS OF EUPHEMISMS FROM MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review is the essential source for any research due to the fact that its function is to explore background knowledge from existing information in the field of the research question, to detect others' discoveries and conceptions, and to view their interpretation of findings about the problem or question (Charles, 1998; Denscombe, 1998; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Judd, Smith, & Kidder, 1991; Kellehear, 1993; Leedy, 1997; Nunan, 1992; Walliman, 2001). In the process of systematically organising a literature review, one will be able to discover key aspects on which to focus the research, the unanticipated features and potential problems which may occur during the research as well as explore the knowledge, others' philosophies and various verifications on the theme of the research (Charles, 1998; Dixon & Bouma, 1984; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Judd, Smith, & Kidder, 1991; Kellehear, 1993; Leedy, 1997; Walliman, 2001).

In order to acquire an understanding of the general concept of euphemism, the above rationale should be applied. It is important to analyse the way people perceive euphemisms before considering how euphemism functions in our language use. This chapter explores the theory of euphemism in distinctively specified categories as well as the psychological motives for creating euphemism.

2.2 DEFINITIONS

It is easily recognisable that euphemisms have been common in many fields and circumstances. Due to the fact that euphemistic functions are subconsciously engaged in everyday experience, their presence is rarely detected. The universally categorised and specified term *euphemism* in fact incorporates three diverse and interchangeable ways to behave in human interactions, namely euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak, and

their use depends on how the information/message is encountered. It is important at this stage to deal with the individual characteristics and understand the clear differences between these three facets – a notion which will be outlined in the following section.

2.2.1 Definitions of Euphemism

Description of euphemism in the *Concise English Dictionary* (7th ed.) is: “*Euphemism* is defined in dictionaries as a rhetorical device: ‘substitution of mild or vague or roundabout expression for a harsh or blunt or direct one’” (as cited in Burchfield, 1985, p. 13). Euphemism is characterised by avoidance language and evasive expression; that is, a speaker uses words as a protective shield against the anger or disapproval of natural or supernatural beings. If this seems too negative, euphemisms can alternatively be described as expressions that seek to avoid being offensive, blunt, harsh, or too direct (Allen, 1990; Grant, 1977), or as a device to masquerade embarrassing and unpleasant features, or rough truth (LaRocque, 1998; Lehrer, 1991; Neaman & Silver, 1990). As Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 26) state;

Euphemisms are alternatives to expressions that, for one reason or another, have too many negative connotations to felicitously execute [s]peaker’s particular communicative intention in a given context. In referring to ‘a particular communicative intention in a given context,’ we draw attention to the fact that [the] [s]peaker chooses either to use or to not-use a euphemism in order to create a certain effect on a given occasion....

Considering this then, euphemism is perhaps one of the most vulnerable terms because of the way it is abused and used so loosely (Grant, 1977).

2.2.2 Definitions of Dysphemism

In general, people apply expository and explanatory accounts of these kinds of expressions for two overt distinctive purposes. One is the euphemism explained above and the other is the entity called dysphemism, which does not appear in our daily language use (Burridge, 2002). Dysphemism is, simply speaking, the opposite entity of euphemism and is ‘with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for just

that reason' (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Grant (1977, p. 248) does not engage the term dysphemism, but employs the term *malphemism*, which is 'negatively scripted pejorative, expressing negative attitude' contrasting with euphemism which is 'positively scripted expressing attitude of approval'. The combined set of euphemisms and dysphemisms is called X-phemisms, a term coined by Allan and Burridge (1991).

2.2.3 Definitions of Doublespeak

In addition to the terms defined above, other scholars employ a peculiar term, *chisel-speak*, which they observe as being a similar phenomenon to dysphemism (Hausman, 2000). This term is also generally acknowledged as doublespeak. Doublespeak is the combination of George Orwell's terms *doublethink* and *newspeak* and was coined by the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) in the U.S. when the Committee on Public Doublespeak was established in 1972. The committee described doublespeak as being a 'dishonest and inhumane use of language' (as cited in Dieterich, 1974, p. 195), and the term has since presented itself as various terms including 'propaganda analysis, semantics, persuasion, language manipulation, lying, deceit, and omission' (Rank, 1976).

Most people utilise the generally metaphoric term euphemism referring to these three different aspects. It is interestingly delineated in the statement of Everett Dirksen, a former senator from Illinois, U.S.;

Mr. President, there is such a word as 'euphemism.' I do not think I have looked it up for years, but I suppose 'euphemism' is something that seems like what it ain't. Perhaps that is as good a definition as I can give (as cited in Grazian, 1998, page unknown).

2.3 FUNCTIONS AND MOTIVATIONS

Euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak seem to be analogous features, especially when considering the similarities between dysphemism and doublespeak. Therefore, the identification of the characteristics of each and comparison with each other in terms of their functions and notions will consequently elucidate the boundaries between the three. The following sections will depict the characteristics of the three entities in turn.

2.3.1 Functions and Motivations of Euphemism

From the previous definition, it seems as though euphemism is the entity to complicate linguistic clarity, as well as the whole process of human interaction, both positively and negatively. Any attempt to complicate or confuse a human concept implies perplexity and involves a degree of inherent danger. As Margulis (1975, p. 69) states: 'Euphemisms abound and carry with them an inherent danger: whatever sounds okay seems okay – or at least is passively accepted'. Regarding euphemistic use, people generally tend to draw more attention to lexical alternation. However, this is not the only aspect of euphemistic function and motivation. Euphemism is related to broader contexts such as 'a situation, a person or an object in a more agreeable, more reassuring or politer light than would be afforded by the hard glare of reality or by crude, direct definition' (Cobb, 1985, p. 72). This is because 'If the root act of euphemism is suppression or evasion, and therefore untruth, a frequent precondition is some kind of elevation or pretension (whether moral, social, or stylistic) which the euphemism tries to sustain' (Adams, 1985, p. 46). Therefore, most euphemisms are not always rich, but all attempt to the same aim: 'concealment, denial, obfuscation' (Lehman, 1999, p. 51).

2.3.2 Functions and Motivations of Dysphemism

Any euphemistic locution contains the potential to turn itself very easily into its opposite entity, dysphemism, which is 'a coinage almost as ugly as what it describes' (Adams, 1985, p. 44). Dysphemism '... includes verbal resources we have for being offensive, for being abusive or just plain letting off steam' (Burridge, 2002, p. 221). Thus taboo terms based on profanity, blasphemy and sexually motivated obscenity are consequently the chief resources to establish dysphemistic language use (Burridge, 2002).

According to Allan and Burridge (1991), dysphemism is derived from the fact that the strategies employed by euphemism and dysphemism are identical, whereas two distinctive dissimilarities have been embedded. "One is that part-for-whole (synecdochic) dysphemisms are used far more frequently than are general-for-specific ones, which is the converse of the situation with euphemisms.... The other difference is

that the antithesis between 'hyperbole and understatement' is inappropriate" (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 27). They continue, "It is a moot point whether that sarcastic 'FEW' is an understatement of hyperbole: there seems to be no clear distinction between them in dysphemistic discourse" (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 27). Another strategy not to be overlooked is circumlocution, or borrowed terms and jargon. 'Circumlocution is most usually dysphemistic when it manifests an unwanted jargon...; the use of borrowed terms and technical jargon is only dysphemistic when intended to obfuscate or offend the audience, and so forth' (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 27). A more detailed examination of these classifications will be explored in the later section of this chapter.

2.3.3 Functions and Motivations of Doublespeak

Doublespeak leads to incongruity, as notes Lutz (1989a, pp. 1-2).

... the incongruity between what is said or left unsaid, and what really is. It is the incongruity between the word and the referent, between seems and be, between the essential function of language - communication - and what doublespeak does: mislead, distort, deceive, inflate, circumvent, obfuscate (also cited in Grazian, 1998, page unknown).

The function of doublespeak is to avoid, shift or deny responsibility or to make a negative appear pleasant. It is the language at variance with its real or purported meaning while concealing or preventing thought (Lutz, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b, 1996). Lutz (1987, 1989a) advocates that there are at least four major dominants of doublespeak; (1) Euphemism, which is expressions that are designed to avoid a harsh or distasteful reality but which becomes doublespeak when it is introduced to mislead or deceive, (2) Specialised language used in some particular field such as a trade, profession or similar group called jargon, (3) Gobbledygook or bureaucratese and (4) Inflated language. While Allan and Burridge (1991) described the divergence between euphemism and dysphemism as opposite entities, euphemism, according to Lutz (1987, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b, 1996, 1999), is in fact only a segment of doublespeak.

Thus, doublespeak is not an erratum stemming from careless linguistic ability but is a deliberate misleading of the human conception by the deception and disguise of the language use (Buechler, 1989; D' Angelo, 1989; Lutz, 1989a; Penelope, 1989), for the purpose of manipulating information. In other words, *fallacy* can be considered as an equal entity to doublespeak (Rohatyn, 1989).

2.4 DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THREE EUPHEMISTIC ENTITIES

Euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak are three entities containing natural and skilful manipulative potential in order to bring about desirable associations in interpersonal communication. In other words, judgement of the degree of euphemism depends largely on personal perspective. The use of expletives, for example, is conventionally regarded as dysphemistic but it is not always so. Allan and Burridge (1991) note that dysphemistic expressions are not intrinsically dysphemistic by specific locution selection because a 'dysphemistic illocutionally act can be accomplished with a euphemistic locution' (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 32). In this sense, it is not a mistake to state that one person's euphemism could be another person's dysphemism or malphemism. As Beer (1985) and Epstein (1985) commented, it is infeasible to say clearly when euphemism is perceived as an intrinsic segment of polite tongue in our society.

It is apparently difficult to draw a line successfully between euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak. Language use with lexical/linguistic substitutions generally categorises all three entities as discussed previously, and it often seems that there is little or no difference between dysphemism and doublespeak. McCormally (1993) highlights the distinction between euphemism and dysphemism by stating that euphemisms are '... terms that soften reality [and] are closely linked to political correctness' (McCormally, 1993, page unknown). Dysphemism, he continues, is the reverse of euphemism. 'It is a term that paints a harsher, coarser, blacker version of reality' (McCormally, 1993, page unknown). Others focus only on the difference between euphemism and doublespeak. Lutz (1989a), for example, discriminates between the two by stating that 'when a

euphemism is used to mislead or deceive, it becomes doublespeak' (Lutz, 1989a, p. 3). Perhaps, the clearest distinction though is deciphered in Widlak's work (as cited in Cooper, 1993, p. 62):

... one somewhat negative (to conceal embarrassing or unpleasant reality) though shading into the positive (to minimise painful or disagreeable impressions), and the other more obviously positive (to develop in the interlocutor a favourable disposition or impression).

All three, euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak, seem to be very analogous features, especially between dysphemism and doublespeak, so that presentation of the explicit distinctions are attempted. If concentrating on positive as well as negative aspects of all types of euphemism application in language accentuated by Cooper (1993) above, it is clearly comprehensible that euphemism, which contains positives, differs from dysphemism and doublespeak, which only include negatives. The latter two are closely associated with each other so that diversity of characteristic features of dysphemism and doublespeak are overlooked by most people. It now requires the apprehension of the two significant styles. One is that the addressor conveys his or her perspective to the audience and there is no intention to deceive them. The other is that the addressor pretends not to render the truth of the issue and switches to the locution intentionally in order to obfuscate the truth.

The process of considering the addressor's perception and carefully selecting words or phrases in order to prevent negatives or promote positive message transmission results in the production of euphemism. If its function can be viewed as eventually lengthening the distance between interlocutors, the lexical items and phrases are regarded as dysphemisms. These two are described in the former explanation above. If locution, however, constitutes of intentions and motivations to mislead or deceive the audience, then the expression becomes doublespeak which involves 'pseudo-authenticity' (Fox, 1989, p. 185).

Language which tries to entrap its audience after concealing the truth cannot be categorised as similar to euphemism or dysphemism, instead it is closer to doublespeak.

It is stressed that, unlike the connection between euphemism and dysphemism, there are no positive aspects to be changed by doublespeak because, if there were, this would be contrary to its intention and motivation which are to interchange the negatives to positives. The decision for this transmitting is, to a greater or lesser degree, intimately associated with a wide range of contextual factors such as people's status, background information and so forth. In other words, it will be imposed by the way people observe the objects around them.

This is the logical theory explaining the distinction between euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak according to various scholars' concepts. Yet, it is important to declare again that the underlying function of the three is same: 'the separation of words from truth' (Margulis, 1975, p. 69). For the purposes of analysis in this thesis, the lexical item *euphemism* will imply these three linguistic features euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak, yet individual examples of euphemism will be referred to specifically as needed.

2.5 STYLISTIC CLASSIFICATIONS OF EUPHEMISM

Cooper (1993, p. 69) advocates that '... there is difficulty also in classifying the various procedures used in euphemisation' due to the fact that a variety of authorities present their own specific modes. Thus people's conceptualisation of euphemism classification needs to be developed in terms of stylistic and structural genre. The discussion of stylistic genre will explore figurative imagery including metaphor and remodelling, one for one substitution, general for specific / part for whole, understatement / overstatement, canting such as jargon, slang and loanwords, and linguistic variation. In addition, it will continue to deal with structural genre such as omission, clipping, acronym and abbreviation and circumlocution.¹ Sections 2.5.1 to 2.5.6 as follows, deal with the literal references to stylistic features which are linked with euphemism.

¹ They are primarily supported by the categorisation in Allan and Burridge (1991).

2.5.1 Figurative Imagery

Cottle (1975, p. 126) notes figurative language is 'the speech that adroitly weaves in quotations'. For example, "'my custom always in the afternoon' even when *not* referring to the obvious taking of a nap, and it is easy to criticise those who call any large body of females a 'monstrous regiment', since this shows ignorance of semantics" (Cottle, 1975, p. 126). Figurative imagery constitutes of two aspects, namely metaphors and remodelling.

Many scholars indicate that metaphors play a significant role in our semantic expansion and newly directed conceptualisation (Baker, 1981; Condon, 1966; Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990; Rank, 1989). Rank (1989) reminds us of two characteristic metaphors; *dying metaphors* and *mixed metaphors*. *Dying metaphors* implicate *cliches* (Baker, 1981; Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990; Rank, 1989), which are regarded when '... they become so much a part of our regular language that we cease thinking of them as metaphors at all' (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990, p. 80), and *mixed metaphors* refer to those which produce fruitful affective elements in discourse such as allusion, irony, pathos, humour, lies and so forth. George Orwell (as cited in Rank, 1989, p. 19) expresses his preference for *newly invented metaphor* because it 'evokes fresh images' while he also accepts technically dead metaphor, which is '... one that has in effect reverted to being an ordinary word and can be generally used without loss of vividness'. Baker's (1981, p. 417) support of this view on *newly created metaphor* is reflected by its preference, as follows;

... its novelty and freshness are more likely to carry intellectual weight than an old cliché, the popular acceptance of which depends on a social conspiracy to avoid seeing whether it has any meaning at all. It is mainly a question of degree. At the same time, it is clear that we can go a long way towards gaining verifiability for our turns of speech if we exploit a known environment.

From metaphorical conceptual perspectives, three conventional heterogeneities form metaphors. Adopting Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) concepts, structural metaphors are the 'cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14). Oriental metaphors, on the other hand, do not 'structure one

concept in terms of another but instead organise a whole system of concepts with respect to one another...since most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14). In addition, ontological metaphors involve a '... way of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 25).

As Swift's statement illustrated (as cited in Kehl, 1974, p. 54) 'a poem should do: develop, use up, the metaphor'. Metaphor serves a significant function in poetry and remains an integral instrument to diffuse readers' imaginary worlds (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Consequently, difficulty with regard to comprehending a poem due to the metaphorically created ambiguity increases dramatically. As encountered with non-literary language, readers '... readily accept not only ambiguity, but gobbledygook, blatant propaganda, and general vacuous nonsense' (McCracken, 1976, p. 136). Metaphor and its associated labels such as trope, metonymy, synecdoche, analogy and so forth are utilised not only by poets and orators as manifest verbal devices (Condon, 1966) but also appear frequently in the extensive social scientific field. On politics, one of the distinctive areas introducing metaphors, Orwell (1970) stresses a danger of metaphorical rhetoric, which can make the meaning obscure to both an addressor and an addressee. 'The sole aim of a metaphor is to call up a visual image. When these images clash ... it can be taken as certain that the writer is not seeing a mental image of the objects he is naming: in other words he is not really thinking' (Orwell, 1970, p. 164). In connection to this, Gambino's (1974, p. 28) interesting statement on the Watergate incident points out that 'Poets use metaphors and similes to heighten meanings' while 'Watergate people use them to blur meanings'. Therefore, it may be more accurate to consider metaphors as 'direct expressions of evaluations' instead of 'ornaments of discourse' in our interactions (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990, p. 72).

Figurative locutions, in most cases, finish with 'one-for-one substitutions... in which either the onset or rhyme of the non-preferred term is matched with that of a semantically unrelated word' (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 15), including remodelling such as *sugar* for *shit*, *tarnation* for *damnation*. On a broader range of perspectives,

these types of remodelling examples can be observed as euphemistic dysphemism, which is described as occurring when people wish to utter expletives but restrain their socially overt unacceptable behaviour at the same time. Eventually one engages 'a dysphemistic illocutionally act with a euphemistic locution' (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 225).

2.5.2 One for One Substitution

Enhancement of the usage of circumlocutions is influenced by *one-for-one substitutions*. In the multicultural Australian context, the term *community languages* refers to over 150 spoken Languages Other Than English (LOTE) and to a further 120 Aboriginal languages still present in society, 25% of which are still spoken (Baldauf, Jr. & Djite, 2000). This term originated in the middle of the 1970s because of the exclusive denotation contained in terms such as *foreign languages*, which implies that the languages are alien to Australian society, *migrant languages*, which disregard those people utilising LOTE despite the fact that they were born and grew up in Australia, and *ethnic languages*, which implies that the language is utilised by people from differentiated categories of ethnicity. Despite all of this, the labels are interchangeable in accordance with undermining contexts such as political, pedagogical, and theoretical aspirations (Clyne, 1991). A survey within the field of Australian language education would reveal that the term *LOTE* has widely established its status and stability. Consequently, one-for-one substitutions are formed consistently not only from meaning application, but also from non-lexically associated fields. As a final note, Lutz (1989a) identifies that those who use doublespeak and coin doublespeak words need to be clearly informed and knowledgeable of issues surrounding doublespeak.

2.5.3 General for Specific / Part for Whole

Some styles of language use lead to ambiguity. In some sense, these are also regarded as euphemism and play a significant part in human interaction. There are two kinds of stylistic features, *general for specific* and *part for whole*, which can be observed in the work of Allan and Burridge (1991). An example of *general for specific* is 'Can I show

you the geography of the house' for the invitation to some events in the house or tour inside the house operated by the host (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 78). This is the feature used when a main focus of the phrase is described in a periphrastic manner. This is sometimes motivated by the engagement with verbiage and verbosity, which produces devious descriptions. *General for specific* includes several subclasses which can be viewed below;

... general-area-for-a-specific-area within-it; *go to bed* for 'fuck' invokes the general-location-where-a-specific-event-takes-place; U.S. President Richard Nixon's references to *prething* and *postthing* (where 'thing' = 'Watergate break-in'), the use of *thingummybob* for 'penis' (or whatever), and expressions like *the you-know-what* to denote almost anything that can be properly inferred from context – all these employ the-maximally-general-for-something-specific strategy for euphemism. ... the use of *inexpressibles* or *unmentionables* and perhaps *smalls* for 'underclothing'; also Grose's use of the *monosyllable*: these employ the-nonspecific-for-something-specific strategy. And so on: the number of general-for-specific subclasses is probably boundless (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 18).

A contrasting version of this is the feature *part for whole*, which condenses the message to imply the existence of larger information by its segmentation:

... *spend a penny* for 'go to the lavatory' (from the days when public lavatories cost a penny to access); and *I've got a cough* may occasionally ignore the accompanying stuffed up nose, postnasal drip, and running eyes. Afrikkans *ghat*, originally 'hole', is used in much the same way as British or Australian *bum*, or American *fanny* (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 18).

Text described in the manner of *part for whole* also contains a euphemistic function, and is discovered in everyday life, e.g., in headlines in newspapers and magazines. In some sense, due to the dictation of the layout of the page, space provided for the information is limited and the number of words utilised is consequently minimised (Reah, 1998). Both styles are motivated by euphemistic locutions which are linguistically referred to as metonymy and synecdoche, and where of the two, metonymies seem less commonly observed than synecdoches (Allan & Burridge, 1991).

2.5.4 Understatement / Overstatement

When concentrating more on the topic of the statement rather than lexical density, metonymies are perceived as understatement. Take the following expression of the Russian ambassador to Libya, Oleg Peresyarkin (as cited in Lutz, 1989a, p. 150), about the casualties of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant incident: “‘We can say that this is a normal incident, and there is nothing abnormal. There is bound to be a technical incident’ in any factory or power plant” (also cited in Hasegawa, 2002). Correspondingly, the other entity ‘[t]he inflated style, is itself a kind of euphemism’. George Orwell, in his notable essay, *Politics and English Language*, claims that ‘[a] mass of Latin words falls upon the facts like soft snow, blurring the outlines and covering up all the details’ (Orwell, 1970, pp. 166-167).

Overstatement (or *hyperbole*) is the category which includes dictions such as *tremendous* for *normal*, and *giant king size* for *large*. It has been engaged as a literary device within the field of politics for decades and is especially noticeable when attempting to boost support and morale for war activity (Hoggart, 1985). As Berger comments; ‘As everything becomes inflated and tremendous, the word loses its currency’ (as cited in Hahn, 1989, p. 117). The *hyperbole* is the rhetorical style used to enhance positive and negative connotations without presenting dehumanising motives. In other words, the other terms such as exaggeration (or hype) and magnification would have already been perceived as “disarming euphemism for ‘hyperbole’” (May, 1985, p. 122).²

2.5.5 Canting

All euphemistic statements and lexicons have the potential to masquerade negative emergence and, at the same time, to nicely embody positive aspects. Some are still able to be comprehended, others are not at all. Cobb (1985) expresses the difficulty distinguishing between jargon and slang, while Baker (1981) explains that, in some sense, unfamiliar lexicons/phrases are the locally created phrases among the wider

² These examples in Section 2.5.4 are exclusively from Hasegawa (2002).

sphere of a dialect constituted of two primary forms of stratification such as horizontal and vertical. The horizontal stratification includes craft jargon and the vertical stratification contains localised slang, which has various forms. In addition, loanwords also play an important part in canting, so all three: jargon, slang and loanwords, will be focused upon and explored in this section.

First, jargon, which is ‘... rich in figures speech, notably metaphor and euphemism’ (Burke, 1995, p. 15), will be discussed. A segment of the linguistic variation, which is defined by the linguistic term *jargon*, implies ‘... a minimal linguistic system and great individual variation used for communicating in limited situations between speakers of different languages’ (Romaine, 1994, p. 169). Romaine (1994) suggests that it also correlates closely with the creolization and pidginization promotion of the national language. This general conceptualisation about jargon is outlined more vividly by Burke (1995). He considers jargon as ‘rich in figures of speech, notably metaphors and euphemism’, and illustrates four distinguished functions of jargon: (1) practical convenience, (2) secrecy, (3) imposture or mystification, and (4) showing off (Burke, 1995). He also describes (1) as introducing the aspect of *shop talk*:

... ‘talking shop’ (a favourite nineteenth-century term which combined contempt for jargon with contempt for trade). ‘Shop’ has some of the characteristics of what the sociolinguist Basil Bernstein has called a ‘restricted code’, notably the dependence of meaning on a particular context (Burke, 1995, p. 13).

Although Hornadge (1980, p. 268) believes that *shop talk* or “private JARGON of ‘in’ language” is so highly specialised or technical that it rarely has any impact on the language of the community’ except for the advertising industry, talking shop results in more rapid and effective communication with no consideration of outsiders. Porter (1995) introduces Dirckx’s perspective of the reasons for *shop talk* in medical situations with the following:

Speaking in conclave, doctors must make complex ideas intelligible; talking amongst themselves in front of patients, they will seek to make simple ideas opaque. Most clinical teaching is done in the patient’s presence hence physicians veil disagreeable subjects in cryptic double-talk (Porter, 1995, p. 54).

In horizontal stratification, jargon is designed to ‘... make the simple seem complex’ (Lutz, 1989a, p. 13) to outsiders. However, jargon serves particular functions in certain fields and is engaged for fluent interacting within insiders (Cottle, 1975). Allan and Burridge (1991) also agree with the above perception, that jargon could be a distinguishing indicator between insiders and outsiders and they even go so far to say that this one of the two prime functions of jargon: ‘... [the first function,] the primary, and orthodox, function is to serve as a technical or specialist language; the other is to promote in-group solidarity, to exclude those people who do not use the jargon as out-groupers’ (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 196). As long as society continues to consist of diverse socio-groups, various and countless jargons will continue to develop, but some exceptions should be kept in our mind. Burke (1995) explains that while factory workers are hesitant to produce jargon, craftsmen tend to do so. In regard to social class, the middle class does not choose the working class language while the working class does not utilise the language which “they stigmatize as ‘BBC’” (Burke, 1995, p. 8), and so it becomes obvious from these two examples that some socio-groups are more inclined to use jargon than others.

While jargon may be used to make one ‘sound impressive’, ‘to give the user status’, or to ‘conceal a lack of ideas or to give weak ideas authority’ (D’Angelo, 1989, p. 127), in the end, it is clear that jargon is employed for the same purpose as euphemism, dysphemism, and/or doublespeak, which is to obscure the truth.

The second element to be focused upon is slang. Slang is also another essential feature of euphemism, dysphemism, and doublespeak, and shares with jargon a common and functional feature of secrecy.

... ‘slang’ originated as a term in the 1700s to describe the secret vocabulary and idiom of the British underworld. In today’s criminal slang, it still serves to maintain in-group recognition devices and in this context, of course, it’s even more ephemeral. The need to maintain secrecy will always ensure a constant turnover of vocabulary. As soon as a term’s cover is blown, it has to be replaced. This must be the case in all so-called ‘anti-languages’ (in other words, languages that need to be unintelligible to outsiders) (Burridge, 2002, p. 126).

In-group solidarity required rapid replacement of terms to make slang more distinctive. This feature remains in contemporary slang use. Thus present teenagers' slang in Australia is strongly influenced by American English, such as *wicked*, *sick*, *mad*, *filthy*, *zesty* and *groovy*, which all mean *good*, and *seedy*, *krusty*, *festy*, and *sad* implying *bad* are probably destined for a short life expectancy. Similarly, the slang *cool* which was used from the late 60s is likely to become unfashionable soon, as is *awesome* replaced the dead slang *far out* (Burridge, 2002).

Nevertheless, slang is indeed closely associated with one's life in community and social structure, which is an important part of language use (Baker, 1981; Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990). Therefore it has always been treated as people's choice even though it does not seem to be successfully achieved according to the foundation of its definition (Hornadge, 1980).

Third, loanwords will be singled out. It should be noted that lexicons originating in foreign languages also constitute a part of euphemisms and remain a cause of some difficulties associated with euphemism. All present day languages are the outcomes of long-term association with and effects of other languages. The reason that foreign words and phrases are often observed in many languages is linked directly to the primary function of loanwords, that is to replace words more pleasantly than the original's/native's language words (Cooper, 1993). Orwell (1970, pp. 160-161) points out that they '... are used to give an air of culture and elegance' despite the fact that '[e]xcept for the useful abbreviations i.e., e.g., and etc., there is no real need for any of the hundreds of foreign phrases now current in English Bad writers...'.¹

Another reason is the demand. For successful interaction, more precise descriptions of brand new information will seek a new word and/or phrase so that the adoption of foreign language needs to be practised (Enright, 1985). Previously non-existent and/or unfamiliar lexical items for a new application often utilise the original word and/or phrases. In Japan, within the sphere of professional sports, several players choose to pursue the higher levels of challenge overseas. Naturally, following this, vocabulary

such as; *incentive* (*hooshookin/dekidakabara*), which is uttered as *insenchibu*, *motivation* (*doukizuke*) as *mochibeeshon*, and *mood* (*kibun/shintekijyootai*) as *moodo* in a Japanese accent, are newly utilised loanwords. Disregarding the original lexical item occurs consistently in various literal references.

Many people, especially those of younger generations, are likely to overuse foreign words and phrases, specifically English phrases, outside the English speaking countries because of their desirability for assimilation and their regional availability. Therefore, this practice can easily turn into 'evasion devices' (Adams, 1985, p. 52), which can also be called *English Imperialism*, *English Fascism* and/or *Domination of English* (Kubota, 1998; Sekiguchi, 2000; Sugimoto, 1996, 2000). In the case of speculation about Japan and its foreign language education, internationalisation, which is what Tanaka calls '... synonymous to Americanisation' (as cited in Kubota, 1998, p. 302), and American English Imperialism (Sugimoto, 1996) have penetrated deeply. Continuing on this note, Sugimoto (1996, p. 23) adds:

Foreign language equals English, which equals internationalisation. This formula has been habituated in many Japanese minds. Few have noticed, however, that this formula itself mirrors the structure of the world's authority (translated by Hasegawa).

Enright (1985, p. 11) has both positive and negative ascriptions in the case of English: '... the habit of English of continuously pillaging other tongues, though it may betray a deficiency in pride, is a source of strength, variety, and nuance, and we shouldn't be too quick to condemn even its self-defensive manifestations'.

2.5.6 Linguistic Variation

Having discussed canting, it can be pointed out that unique cultural perspectives reflect linguistic uniqueness wherever cultural diversion exists. This phenomenon is not an exception in multicultural society: Australia, '... was successful in migrant recruitment but not in migrant absorption', which has been illustrated by Jupp and Martin (as cited in Clyne, 1991, p. 18). In the 1960s, 81% of all settlers in Australia came from the six countries with the highest birth rates, including 51% born in the United Kingdom and

Ireland. On the other hand, '[i]n the 1990s, 49% came from the top six countries, with 15% born in the United Kingdom and Ireland' (Geddes (Ed.), 2001, pp. 11-13). English as the official language of Australia has been influenced deeply and broadly by other languages from this Australian strain, which leads to its linguistic uniqueness and distinctiveness rather than patois. This background, in one sense, engineers euphemisms based on the variations of language use in cross-cultural communication and integrated settings. The phenomenon of a multicultural nation was described by the euphemism *integration* rather than *assimilation* in the early 1970s (Clyne, 1991). It is conventional to deem that Australian English has links to English spoken in the United Kingdom and Ireland accompanied by some influence of other languages. Eventually the linguistic uniqueness of Australian English, or colloquially so-called *Ozlish*, took its place as an internationally recognised branch of English, but consequently suffered from much criticism and negative connotations from those in the United Kingdom and the United States. Nevertheless, the reverse version where terms and phrases of British English and American English can be traced to Australian origins is notorious. Examples of Australian-originated terms and phrases adopted by languages in the United Kingdom and Ireland are; *bike* or *bicycle* (means a *velocipede*), *billet* (a *position, job*), *buster* (a *heavy fall*), *caser* (a '*dollar*', a *worth about 5s*), *chance it* (to *take a chance*), *chance the ducks* (to *take a chance*), *chain gang* (a *convict gang working in chains*), *Down Under* (used to describe *New Zealand and Australia*), *ganging* (work as a *gang*), *go to the country* (to *go to jail*), *josh* or *josser* (an *old depraved person*), *paralytic* (drunk), *solitary* (a *sentence of solitary imprisonment*), *sugar* (money), *to talk through one's neck* (to *talk nonsense*), and *yum yum* (an *expression of approval or enjoyment*). Examples of American English derived from Australian English can include: *boomer* (something *notable, impressive*), *bullpuncher*, *brush/bush* (forest-covered country, *bushland*), *buck* (of a *horse*), *buckjumper* (a *horse that bucks*), *bushranger*, *Chink* (a *Chinaman*), *coat/coast about* (to *wander, walk about aimlessly*), *dray* (a *wheeled wagon*), *jumper* (a *man's blouse or smock-like shirt*), *stockman*, and *stockyard* (Baker, 1981, pp. 394-395). On this note, Baker (1981, p. 398) continues:

If... we have been able to create and preserve a vast vocabulary of our own, we need have no fear that we shall not be able to survive the tide of Americanisms. Environment and geography are primary factors that keep our Australian English individual.

Whether Australian English is a dialect or another language altogether depends on how one sees the substance, along with individual rational knowledge evoked by past experiences, values, senses and insights (Romaine, 1994). If conceiving a regionally exploited language in certain areas of a country, such as various languages in Australia, this fragile regionalism is almost always threatened to become disfunctionalised by the arbitrary control of authorities. From a phonological perspective, for example, Clyne's (1991, p. 187) described the status of the German language in Australia;

... we cannot assess the relative importance and possible reinforcement of base dialects and Australian English in the phonology of latter-day Barossa Valley, Western Victorian, Wimmera and South Queensland German. Regionalisms had been largely levelled out by the influence of schoolteachers, pastors, and the written language.

As for linguistic variations, a cluster of features such as regional and social dialect as well as accent, register and style are the most focused of the sociolinguistic elements (Romaine, 1994; Trudgill, 2000; Wolfson, 1989). Register is a classification system involving phonology and inscribing utilised by or concerned with a wide range of particular groups or areas. Such groups could be listed to include the register of law, religion, and academics as well as the mother-in-law register which can be identified in most of the Aboriginal languages of Australia. Style is reflected by the degree of the language's formality in accordance with the social settings including stratifications and hierarchy, ethnographic identify, interrelation between interlocutors, stratifications and the central topic/theme in the interaction.

2.6 STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF EUPHEMISM

In terms of structural classification, simplification is applied quite frequently as one of the distinctive strategies to harvest the influence of euphemism locutions in interaction. It is integral for euphemistic language in order to exhibit the addressers' intention. Regarding simplifying, there appear to be four main models: omission, clipping,

acronym/abbreviation and circumlocution, which will be explored in the following Sections 2.6.1 to 2.6.4.

2.6.1 Omission

In order to simplify locutions and/or illocutions, omission could be the most uncomplicated method due to the fact that it does not require coining or picking up new lexical entities. There are two types of omissions: full-omissions, for instance, *I need to go*, (*to the toilet* is excluded here), and quasi-omissions which replace some unfavoured term with non-lexical expression such as, ----, **** and so forth. It seems to be correct that quasi-omissions are observed more frequently than full-omissions (Allan & Burridge, 1991, also cited in Hasegawa, 2003).

Adams (1985) views omissions as part of euphemism from a unique perspective. He argues that fictional omissions can be discovered frequently, and that there is little attention to the fact that omissions are related intimately to euphemism. He writes; ‘...only if language... tried to prettify or cosmeticize the effect. You could call euphemism the deodorant of language; if so, a code of silent omissions would correspond...’ (Adams, 1985, p. 47).

2.6.2 Clipping

Similar devices as those in omissions exist in clipping. However clipping specifically involves omitting the part of lexicon. Examples are “... *jeeze* for ‘Jesus’, *bra* for ‘brassiere’ (both end-clipped), and archaic *nation* for ‘damnation’ (cf. Grose 1811, this is foreclipped)” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, pp.16-17). Clipping can be detected often in slur-name for particular nationalities, *Paki*, for example, ‘... for Pakistani immigrants in English speaking countries such as Britain, Canada, and the United States’ (Allen, 1990, pp. 101-102), *Yanks* in Australian English, for Yankees, which refers to Americans, as well as *Jap*, which is well-known for Japanese people, and *Nip*, clipped from *Nippon/Nipponjin* which means Japan/Japanese people.

2.6.3 Acronym and Abbreviation

Large numbers of what Baker (1981) calls alphabeticisms such as acronyms and abbreviations form a part of euphemism because they can function in disguising unpleasant and embarrassing terms (Bosmajian, 1984; Burchfield, 1985; Cottle, 1975). Acronyms and abbreviations are coined from pieces of the alphabet or initial letters of a word. The difference between them is that acronyms can be pronounced like other proper words, whereas this does not necessarily apply to abbreviation (Allan & Burridge, 1991) or initialism (Allen, 1990, p. 99).

Acronyms are proper words created from the initial letter or two of the words in a phrase, and they are pronounced like other words (cf. *Snafu*, *radar*, *laser*, or *UNESCO*). By contrast, abbreviations do not form proper words, and so they are pronounced as strings of letters; for example, *S.O.B.*, *IOU*, *U.S.A.*, *MP*, *lp*, or *tv* (Allan & Burridge, 1991, pp. 235-236).

Due to semantic preciseness, economical representation and the effects of in-group solidarity, acronyms and abbreviations can function as fluent communication facilitators, yet also form a barrier between interlocutors (Burridge, 2002).

2.6.4 Circumlocution

It is perhaps fair to proclaim that most euphemistic locutions are, in a sense, regarded as circumlocutions, which depict expressions in an indirect style. Storr (1985) reminds us of very simple but frequently engaged circumlocutions such as *May I wash my hands?* *May I pay a visit [to a bathroom]?*, and explains that 'We speak of the lavatory pan and toilet paper, though the first has nothing to do with washing and the second is not concerned with how we arrange our dress, our hair and faces to appear in public' (Storr, 1985, p. 84).

As long as circumlocution is a tortuous way to paraphrase the sentences, the singular pronouns *this* and *that* as well as the plural pronouns *these* and *those* could fall into the segment of this category. These *deictic indications* (Goddard, 1998; Reah, 1998) implying physical and psychological distance (Tada, 1996) are likely to be utilised as functions to paint over some harsh reality, which is profoundly linked with taboo issues

or subjects. In contemporary Japanese society, for example, the feudal systems, especially the one constituted in the Edo era (1603-1867), have survived if not in the legal sense then in people's minds. Terms such as *sonna hito* (that person/those people) and *anna tokoro* (that area/those areas) are 'underground' expressions for people destined as *Buraku* (low caste) and remain to be '... cunningly selected references which nobody can actually prove nor accuse the user of discrimination' (Kitaguchi, 1999, p. 28).

Similar circumlocutory phrases are discovered consistently in the discussion regarding homo-sexualism. Unlike Australia, issues of *kono sekai* (*lit; this world*) referring to the gay world, require extreme sensitivity even in contemporary Japan (Lunsing, 2002). Disintegration of their world from the rest of the world was demanded due to the fact that:

In the past... everybody, including homosexuals (*doseiaisha*) themselves, thought that homosexuals lived in the world of *fuzoku sangyo* (the industry of immoral entertainment), the city of the night. There are many young homosexuals that ended up thinking that in the future they had to enter the *mizushobai* ('water trade' – the industry of sex and entertainment) (*Ugoku Gei to Rezubian no Kai*, as cited in Lunsing, 2002, p. 67).

Particular circumlocutions concerned with the deletion of pejoratives are demonstrated by individual knowledge of and non-naiveness of the social anathema.

2.7 ASSOCIATIONS OF EUPHEMISTIC LANGUAGES

Euphemism has been embedded in language variations. Throughout this study, an attempt will be made to spotlight the varieties of languages frequently compared with and remarked by euphemism. *Newspeak* is the language style employed in George Orwell's novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. It is a language '... not to extend but to diminish the range of thought' (Orwell, 1965, p. 247, also cited in Lutz, 1989b, p. 3), while *oldspeak* refers to standard English (Shenker, 1974). *Newspeak* is designed '... not only to provide a medium of expression for the Party and its members' (Lutz, 1989a, p. 3), 'but to make all other modes of thought impossible' (Orwell, 1965 p. 247, also cited in Lutz, 1989b, p. 3). Unlike doublespeak, singlespeak '...is the vocabulary of those who

need no Newspeak for self-deception (White, 1989, p. 52). Below is the Shenker's (1974, p. 202) reflection on Orwell's view;

In 1984 Orwell foresaw the triumph of Newspeak, completely replacing Oldspeak (Standard English) by about 2050. Newspeak would make all forbidden beliefs unthinkable by stripping Oldspeak words of unorthodox meanings and diminishing the range of thought: "The word *free* still existed in Newspeak, but it could only be used in such statements as 'This dog is free from lice' or 'This field is free from weeds.'" And: "Ultimately it was hoped to make articulate speech issue from the larynx without involving the higher brain centers at all. This aim was frankly admitted in the Newspeak word *duckspeak*, meaning 'to quack like a duck.'"

There is no semantically significant information transmitted because of the unconscious utilisation of the orthodoxy style of speech. '... duckspeak was ambivalent in meaning. Provided that the opinions which were quacked out were orthodox ones, it implied nothing but praise, ...' (Orwell, 1965, p. 238) as Lutz' stance in a reproachful view. 'With duckspeak it makes no difference what the subject is' (Lutz, 1996, p. 55).

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter first described the segments that have been identified in association with euphemism, and are commonly depicted in literal materials, such as definitions, functions and motivations, distinctions between euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak, variations of euphemistic languages and classifications of euphemism.

The second segments introduced in this chapter are the factors that people tend to engage with unconsciously, exercisable euphemistic expressions. Euphemistic imagination when exploring the linguistically categorised segments is a crucial skill. As one would expect, euphemisms intrude into wide-ranging realms, and linguistic edifice due to the fact that euphemisms have 'concrete meaning[s]' and are considered to be '... polite, tactful, or less explicit term[s] used to avoid the direct naming of an unpleasant, painful, or frightening reality' (as cited in Burchfield, 1985, p. 13).

Numbers of euphemistic expressions utilised in our society, categorised in the above linguistic forms, are taken for granted in universal interactions. Euphemisms derive from

pure linguistic motivation, socially determined norms and individual conceptualisation although special attention is usually paid to their presence. This attitude becomes more unconscious when certain euphemisms are encountered, in particular, doublespeak, for 'when they do notice doublespeak being used on them, [and] they don't react, they don't protest' (Lutz, 1989a, p. 19). It is not a mistake to note that one of the major reasons for the habit of overusing euphemistic expressions is the influence of the mass media, whereas euphemistic distortion derives 'more on the part of the listener or reader than on the part of the progenitor of the euphemism' (May, 1985, p. 127). Advertisers understand there are aspects of their products that they are 'not reminding' their consumers of, but believe that their consumers are aware of the reasons why they employ euphemism, and light-heartedly encourage their consumers to 'smile at that together' (May, 1985, p. 127). Thus this type of language function is motivated by sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic stimulation and will be explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLINGUISTICALLY STIMULATED EUPHEMISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Having discussed how euphemism is embedded in language and classified the use of euphemism into categories has led to some speculations about the process by which euphemisms are formed and produced through human interactions. Human interactions cause the transformation of style or register of language and this can be detected through observing human interactions, which are a vital part of euphemism. Thus the relationship between euphemism and socially systemised discipline areas should be a focus of attention, so that further understanding of sociolinguistic motivations can shed more light upon their intimate connection with factors of euphemistic manifestation. This chapter will scrutinise the concomitants of these two leading dichotomies, with the aim of detecting and analysing the factors that influence euphemism.

3.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS WHICH MANIFEST EUPHEMISM

Distinctive contexts influenced by sociolinguistic factors appear as semantic restrictions, which are rooted in the author's scheme, social coercion, and the limitations of available space in a document. This ideological stance is further confirmed when various domestic educational textbooks, especially political science and history textbooks, are compared across a range of countries. The scope of a topic is influenced primarily by the textbook author's policy towards the educational ideology and the paragon of the subject, and the consequences of this influence are apt to remain undescribed.

Historical perspectives are also involved in this issue to some extent. Public dispositions and susceptibility influence the focal points and weight of a narrative. When compared to social latitude and prescribed information, the core themes, topics and subjects are

presented in a favourable light by omitting unfavourable aspects and ignoring objective ones, while sugarcoating the distortions with euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak. There are many examples in the Australian context of how historical perspective distorts reality. One of these is that the conventionally-recognised official history of Australian Aborigines began in 1967 when the referendum passed and recognised Aboriginal people as Australian citizens, disregarding the scientific findings showing that they have been in Australia for at least 60,000 to 100,000 years (Davison, Hirst, & Macintyre, 1998). In other words, the official historical perspective has virtually ignored their presence before 1967. Another illustration of the same point is related to the massacre by a gunman on 28 April 1996 that occurred in Port Arthur, Tasmania, Australia, resulting in the death of 35 people and injury to a further 18. It was a profound incident showing the semantic distortion since the mass media extensively reported it as *the worst manslaughter in Australian history*, with no reference to the massacres that had killed even larger numbers of Australian Aborigines since the British invasion (Chapman, 1998). Similarly, most history textbooks in Japan (and the United States) portray the impression that the Imperial Japanese Army's attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 led to World War II, despite the following series of events and consequences: "The Japanese *advanced* into northern China in 1931 (and the conflict ended), the Japanese *advanced* into the rest of China in 1937 (and the conflict was settled), and the Japanese entered the war against the United States and the United Kingdom in December 1941 (and this war 'ended' in 1945)" (Kimijima, 2000, p. 208, with words italicised by Hasegawa), and of course Japan never lost the war.

Thus, semantic restrictions are motivated by three factors in the authority's scheme: social coercion, limitations in space practised for unwritten rhetorical justification, and camouflaged manipulations. The quantitative factor regarding space truncation in a document seems neither relevant nor improved after discussion since it is impossible to exhibit the enormous number of incidents and events concerned (Billington, 1966; Jaffe & Spierer, 1987). Two other factors, on the other hand, are intimately related to each other from both subjective and qualitative semantic perspectives, and gravely modified by social attitudes, which determine politically correct or political correctness (PC) and

editorship. This section scrutinises the correlation between social tendencies and PC/editorship.

3.2.1 Political Correctness and Editorship

Clear and overt comprehension of the purpose of the language lesson from the outset ensures students' focus and satisfactory outcomes. From an educational perspective, issues of handling PC/editorship confuse the majority of second/foreign language learners but their sources are easily accessible and contain fascinating topics. Improvement of students' understanding about how PC/editorship function in English and Japanese may be the ideal starting-point for language education. Euphemistic and dysphemistic locutions showing the restrictions of appropriate language provide a significant connection with PC/editorship. The dissonance between them can be drawn by the fact that PC, which has been around since the 1700s or before (Burridge, 2002, p. 227) mainly takes effect because of an individual's mutual agreement. Thus it derives from "... subtle pressures of habit, Fromm's 'anonymous authority', 'common sense', and so on..." (Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 75). PC has been transforming from the earlier lexical term *ideologically sound* in Australia (Burridge, 2002, p. 227). *Editorship*, on the other hand, is determined by the authorities' decision. The benchmarks induced by these hidden and unspoken dimensions and parameters (structured by associations and/or institutions) direct society to employ or not to employ particular phrases. For example, Japanese people should not be referred to as *Nips* or *Japs*, and *Yanks* is not an appropriate term for Americans, because these terms are considered politically incorrect (PIC), or inappropriate according to the benchmark of editorship. In terms of editorship, each organization has a committee that creates an arbitrary standard to judge the usage of particular phrases. Editorship tends to force all members of the community to follow concepts acceptable to the authorities. All PC expressions, however, are determined by individual and group recognition, and are used according to different value systems (Hasegawa, 2002), so that PC is more motivated by the onset of common sense than editorship which demands 'more obvious forms of overt coercion' (Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 75). Due to the existence of different value systems in society, some PC and

censored terms are considered remarkably controversial or broadly recognised, while others are simply ignored or overlooked.

3.2.1.1 Sexism

A wide range of expressions purvey sexual connotations, and a movement to diffuse these terms is widespread in present society. One of the most successfully promoted and espoused features of PC in the English language is the use of *Ms.* According to Lakoff (1975), there are several plausible reasons why the title *Ms.* is commonly utilised. The first reason stems from an element of psychological linguistics. People usually attempt to memorise an unfamiliar and/or unknown lexical item along with some extensive imaginable association originating from personal experience and connection (Sanderson, 1999). A factual example to demonstrate this common exercise can be seen when one meets someone for the first time and attempts to rote-learn his/her name by linking it with a familiar or commonly well-known label. Not only is this practice used to remember personal names but it can also be applied to various other everyday situations. If the new lexical items are easily associated with daily life, especially linguistically, physically and psychologically, it is less difficult to memorise and pronounce the lexical item. In other words, if a person encounters a new word, the conceptualisation of identical or similar words in their lexical knowledge begins to function. The easier the expressions are to acquire and utter, the more opportunities there are for them to be engaged. Increased opportunities for use naturally create more possibilities for a word to be accepted in society. Thus no word is more appropriate than *Ms.*, which sounds and looks like a blend of *Miss* and *Mrs.* Second, the acceptance of *Ms.* is due to its convenience in an expedient sense. People did not have to coin a completely new term to indicate marital status. Rather, something simpler to memorise and less confusing to utilise was essential as a title for modern women. The third reason is related to social background. The movement towards the application of *Ms.* would not have been successful if people had been unaware of the female social liberation movement. In the second half of the 20th century, it became politically incorrect to refer to women by their marital status. A general term was required to express the equal status of women whether married or unmarried. There was no title in English to express marital status for

men; all being referred to as *Mr.* Instead, distinctions between males were based on age, eg., *Master/Mr.* A PC word to denote both *Miss* and *Mrs.* as well as to connote female social status, which promotes equality to males' was desperately demanded. Lakoff (1975, p. 42) notes '... the attempt to do away with *Miss* and *Mrs* is doomed to failure if it is not accompanied by a change in society's attitude to what the titles describe'.

The Japanese suffixing title *san* is roughly equivalent to the English prefixes *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *Miss* and *Ms.*, so that differences in sex and marital status are not identified in Japanese. Unlike English, there appears to be a sense of non-complexity in relation to Japanese titles, although a deeper analysis of this would reveal that the usage of titles in Japanese is slightly more interrelated with the socially bolstered dimension than those used in English. The presence of other titles such as *kun* and *chan* accompanied with the person's first name and *sama* and *dono* which are with both family and full name, for example, illustrates explicitly how titles are used to convey social status (Asaoka, 1987; Tada, 1996). Also, in the Japanese context, title usage represents the social structures implying interlocutors' intimacy, group distinction (e.g., insider and outsider), politeness and age, and accommodating attitudes towards the socially and culturally structured principles. Legitimacy of this theory can be reflected in a situation that occurs often in the workplace. In a business interaction such as a telephone conversation between two company workers, the caller will always refer to the call-receiver's co-workers with politeness and the use of occupational titles, for example, *Suzuki-shachoo* (*President Suzuki*) or *Suzuki-san* (*Mr./Miss./Ms. Suzuki*). The call-receiver, on the other hand, never refers to their own president with titles such as *shachoo* or *san* and instead will simply use *Suzuki*. This case demonstrates the fact that engagement of titles does not immediately imply politeness but instead is embedded in the Japanese traditions of social interaction. In short, *when* and *how* the interaction occurs are the vital factors concerned when determining appropriate title use in Japanese. Title use in English, on the other hand, is usually associated directly with one's desire to show politeness (Elwood, 2001; Tada, 1996).

Another significant example of PC/censorship is the creation of non-gender specific titles such as *flight attendant*, *chairperson*, and *sales assistant*. These titles have been adopted extensively in society and replace the terms utilised before such as stewardess/steward, chairman, and salesman, although this case slightly differs from the creation of the PC/censored term *Ms.*, above. Compared with the process of creating the title *Ms.*, new genderless terms are evident in fields entered by greater numbers of females. If the aim of producing such new terms is to recognise females as being of equal social status with males, these genderless examples do not seem to fulfil this aim, and the intention for their use is less obvious. Simultaneously, this attempt seems to advocate abolishing all words signifying females only. If PC/censored terms aim to dispose of sexual discrimination, a clear outcome cannot be observed in this phenomenon. In fact, the motivation to eliminate the suffix *-ess* seems to be clear, as the suffix *-ess* displays an outdated distinction between professional equals. One example is the term *actor* and the disappearing term *actress* where the acting profession regards the sexes equally and professional payment is structured by celebrity status rather than gender. If the suffix *-ess* is 'to make a name gratuitously feminine' (Allen, 1990, p. 38), there is no significance in coining new terms in fields already dominated by females. The prime factor for the success of this change was the fact that females have been winning increased status in a society inflected by changing ideas, social movements and public organizations. Despite this, however, the fundamental PC/censorship aim, which was to demolish the conceptualisation of the domination of either gender, usually males, has been overlooked.

A similar case can be observed in Japanese. Coinage of words such as *kyakushitsu jyoomuin* (*flight attendant*) rather than *stewardess/steward* (which are not utilised any more), derived from original lexical items, are applied frequently to Japanese counterparts. In regard to the term *flight attendant*, however, a more socially problematic hidden element exists. In Japan, an occupation called *paasaa* (*purser*) exists and refers to the person responsible for all flight attendants aboard a flight. This is exclusively a male occupation, implying that male flight attendants can be promoted automatically with no competition from female counterparts. This can be interpreted that a perceived

superiority and/or societal dominance of males in high positions, at least within the hierarchy of flight attendants, still remains an issue which cannot be discussed in regard to lexical items and their alternation, and social awareness of the issue. While attempts have been made to enforce PC in the workforce, conventional social structure has blocked the achievement of linguistically motivated eradication of sexist terms.

Although there are numerous instances of how PC/censored language has been adopted successfully by society, not on linguistic grounds but due to social movements, most cases do not achieve the initial goal. A simple but clear example in English is the use of gender-differentiated third person singular pronouns (*her/him*, *him* or *her*, *s/he*, *he* or *she*, *hers/his*) in non-referred contexts. There have been some attempts to utilise styles such as *s/he*, *him/her*, or to introduce *he* in one paragraph and *she* in the following paragraph (Madson & Hessling, 1999), however no universal convention has been accepted.

On the other hand, the introduction of third person plural nouns such as *they*, *them*, *their(s)* has been applied as the preferred solution to replace *he* or *him* for non- or general-subject words. Public organisations such as the Modern Language Association (MLA), of America, however, showed a negative attitude towards this proposal as the word *they* does not denote singular. Allan and Burrige (1991, pp. 45-46) explain an idea by Smith as follows:

(... in contexts like *If anyone needs to know about euphemism, they should read this book from cover to cover*); this is a sadly pedantic decision in view of the fact that such usage has been common practice for many centuries, especially in colloquial speech (Smith 1985:50-53). Whatever one's view on the use of *they* for singular, it is stylistically preferable to write *As readers can judge for themselves* rather than *As the reader can judge for him or herself* because the plural version does less violence to the cooperative maxim of manner.

In addition, as Madson and Hessling (1999) have observed, the work of Frank and Trichler, Hacker, Heffernan and Lincoln, and MacKay, proposes that the problems associated with the use of *they* are as follows:

Many style guides discourage the use of phrases such as 'his/her' and 'he or she' because they can be stylistically awkward. It is grammatically incorrect to use plural pronouns to refer to a singular antecedent.... The singular 'they' also induces quantitative imprecision because plurals like 'they' indicate any number of entities greater than one, whereas singular pronouns like 'he', 'she', and 'it' indicate there is exactly one entity involved. Using 'they' in a singular sense creates imprecision because 'they' could then refer to any number of entities (i.e., one entity or one or more entities...) (as cited in Madson & Hessling, 1999, page unknown).

In terms of gender differentiation of third person singular pronouns in English, factors indicate a social reluctance to accept the employment of the third person plural *they*. Madson and Hessling (1999, page unknown) assert that, 'Although a number of alternatives to sexist language have been considered, most of these alternatives are subject to criticism'. This assertion mirrors the theory that Gregory Bateson calls *double-bind*, which is '... a situation in which a person, by obeying an order, is automatically disobeying it' (as cited in Lakoff, 1975, p. 61). Lakoff comments '... a woman is damned if she does and damned if she doesn't' (Lakoff, 1975, p. 61) and according to Gibson (1974), blame for this can be allocated to social structures that are constructed by male domination and partiality. Although such female victimisation seems to be at the core of the whole argument of PC/censorship on sexism, its counterpart, male victimisation, is often unnoticed. Males are victimised in the name of *masculinity* which restrains men from stereotyped female behaviours such as inadequate driving skills and discussing emotions (Margulis, 1975; McLoughlin, 2000). Therefore, prior to the eradication of feministic labels, which are inconsistent with the establishment of the ideal linguistic reform, society should demand that male linguistic counterparts be highlighted and eliminated. In addition, it should not be overlooked that the factors causing the whole struggle derive from the portrayal of the stereotypical gender roles and expectations, which dictate how males/females should speak and behave. For example, females are not supposed to swear or use coarse expressions when speaking. On the contrary, the reality is that this is what their actual behaviours are (Hughes, 1992; Lakoff, 1975). It is a conventional tendency that lexical diffusions have been widely ignored in an unsynchronised manner, which in turn has led to either-gender sided prescriptions. In a pragmatic sense, it is not feasible to serve such gender

impartiality. Thus, the lexical dispute over sexist content unfortunately remains unsolved (Madson & Hessling, 1999), while conceptualisation over sexuality has become more distinct in recent years (McLoughlin, 2000).

3.2.1.2 Expletives and Curses in Racist and Ethnical Prejudices

Another characteristic of PC/censorship language is its inconsistency with time and/or changing social attitudes. This can be observed in daily linguistic behaviour by analysing the use of expletives and/or taboo language. Consider the history of the term *bugger*, which even appeared in the recent Toyota TV commercial in Australia. In the past, the term was used in Victorian England to mean sodomy, so that being buggered implies that one had been sodomised or regularly involved in homosexual practices. Usage has become rather benign in its later significance, after consistent use of the term by commonfolk. *I'll be buggered* means just that *I'm surprised, shocked, amazed* and so forth. The expression *Bugger me!* can be interpreted as the same. And *Bugger off* is telling someone to go away but it is often used in fun, as is *Bugger!*, which could refer to *being exasperated* or *being fed up* and could also be a term of endearment or a term of derision towards someone. *You bloody bugger*, for example, is a typical culturally influenced colloquialism in Australia which can either be interpreted as a term of endearment or an expletive depending on the context (R. Thomas, personal communication, n.d.).

Reverse modification of the connotation included in particular lexical items is not uncommon in Japanese either, and can be detected in the first and second person. For example, the second person *kisama* used to be employed as a respectful expression, whereas nowadays it has turned into an abusive word. This derives from part of what Kanae Sakuma (as cited in Tada, 1996, p. 185) discovered to be a conspicuous characteristic of the use of first and second person in Japanese, including that the former undergoes a process of *amelioration* (negative to positive) and the latter can potentially become a *pejoration* (positive to negative) (McLoughlin, 2000). This portrays a typical example of the linguistic medium affected by the social behaviour in Japan. Although encountering people for the first time almost always requires polite attitudes and

respectful forms as utilised in a formal situation, people commence conversation uttering casual and disrespectful forms as one discovers the second person's private background and social information. Simultaneously, the first person utilises polite and humble forms to begin with and the quality and quantity of the forms will decrease as the time passes (Tada, 1996).

The tendency to reduce the pejorative connotation which the term originally acquires is consistently raised in legalese, and has potential to effect people's linguistic habits. A slightly dated but classic case occurred in England in November 1977, with the promotion for a music album: *Never mind the bollocks, here's The Sex Pistols*. Due to the term *bollocks*, a member of the Virgin record company's staff was arrested and police threatened to prohibit the album title. In response, the founder and the president of the Virgin group, Richard Branson, proposed legal action in court after confirmation of the linguistic perspective addressed by Professor James Kingsley from Nottingham University. Below is Branson's recollection of the interaction:

"So one of your staff has been arrested for displaying the word 'bollocks'?" said Professor Kingsley. "What a load of bollocks! Actually, the word 'bollocks' is an eighteenth-century nickname for priests. And then, because priests generally seemed to speak such a lot of nonsense in their sermons, 'bollocks' gradually came to mean, 'rubbish'."

"So 'bollocks' actually means either 'priest' or 'rubbish'?" I checked, making sure I hadn't missed anything.

'That is correct,' he said (Branson, 1999, p. 149).

Based on Kingsley's analysis and expertise, it was proved that the central lexicon in this indictment, *bollocks*, does not denote pejoration, and does not at any time transform into amelioration. Setting a precedent in British court history, *the Sex Pistols'* album was released without alteration to its title (Branson, 1999). In present society, it is not a mistake to note that people, especially younger generations in England, engage consistently with this lexical item as means of addressing their rage, anger and psychological irritations, with no emphasis on its original meaning.

Another struggling term in regard to its legal status rather than colloquial status is the word *fuck*. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the *F-word* is often indirectly

printed as *F...*, *F---* or ****** rather than *FUCK*, prescribed in all capital scripts (Allan & Burridge, 1991), the *F-word* is obviously regarded as a politically incorrect (PIC) or censored term in English. Although many would not consider this to be one of the most abusive and vulgar lexicons in English, its effectiveness varies case by case. Sharp (1992) described an incident involving Rodney Rude, a comedian from Sydney, who in 1985 was charged by Western Australian police for overusing the *F-word* in his 90-minute stage show. Eventually Rude was discharged due to the unpredictable semantic analysis and appraisal of the contextually differentiated *F-word* usage. The newspaper *West Australia* introduced this incident as below;

Used in combination with the word 'off', the offending word was vulgar and quite impolite, but well understood and not necessarily obscene. The word's primary meaning was 'to copulate' but more often than not it was used simply as a strong expletive, and repeated use had tended to lessen the impact (as cited in Sharp, 1992, p. 30).

A more overt and striking example of modifying PC/censorship regarding the *F-word* was seen in March 1989 when David Pearson was charged for allegedly uttering *Get a fucking hurry on* during his stage show. In the following August, this 'Fuckinese' (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 119) was confirmed to be perfectly legal in this context. According to the state of Queensland, Australia, the *F-word* was judged to have two fundamental categories:

... the Magistrate ruled that fuck₁, denoting sexual intercourse, is considered obscene, but the expletive fuck₂ is not, and thereby cleared Pearson of the charge. The Brisbane Courier Mail began its report of the decision thus: 'Australia's most common four-letter word is no longer considered to be obscene' (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 132).

In contrast to the various styles and degrees of pejoratives which exist in English, few counterparts exist in Japanese such as *chikushoo*, *kusotare*, *bakayaroo*, or some equivalent to or modification of them since the Edo era (1603-1867), such as *beraboome*, *hattsukeyaroo*, and *tawakemono* are no longer heard (Itasaka, 1988). Not only is the variety of dysphemistic epithets limited in Japanese, but the existing terms do not express the equivalent abusiveness to those in English. Phraseological variation appears more extensively when comparing Japanese pejoratives with their English

counterparts, and this can be seen in any comparison between multiple languages despite the scale, grade and extent differences. Thus, *chikushoo*, *kusotare*, and *bakayaroo* are not illegal or do not denote direct cause to any social dispute as they are expressed, instead at exclusive settings and timings.

The most cases demonstrated above are worthy of emphasis as key examples of PIC/censored terms which have procured their status as PC/uncensored in legalese. A similar situation occurred in relation to other expletive lexicons, for example ones having racism (skin colour) overtones. The word *black* is a term related to PC/censorship language which was once accepted broadly and successfully, whereas *Negro* in early 1942 was the word to be utilised 'with dignity and pride' (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990). Hayakawa, as a columnist for the most active Negro newspaper at that time, the *Chicago Defender*, recalls the paper's mission to encourage the use of the word *Negro* rather than *Black*. *Black* was substituted for *Negro* after the terms *coloured*, *nigger* and *nigrah* were replaced. In the United States today, *African American* is the socially acceptable term. Similarly the term *brown*, indicating Maori and Pacific Islanders' has been used in New Zealand since '... now the whole Pacific Islander identity has become cool with the use of brown' (Harvey, 2002, p. 15). The significance of these linguistic shifts is that social acceptability of words depends on social context and intention. 'Those who believe that the meaning of a word is innately part of the word risk offending or being offended because of having ignored differences in context or current usage' (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990, p. 50). This typical phenomenon demonstrates that interchange of particular lexical items continues. 'And so it goes on; if society's prejudices continue to bubble away, the negative connotations soon reattach themselves' (Burridge, 1996, p. 49). On the PC/censorship front in the context of the United States, society consists of "dominant culture (the mainstream), underrepresented groups (blacks, Indians and Latinos), survivor (victims, as in incest survivor), monocultural (white), Third World (non-white) and 'racist!'" (Leo, 1991, p. 14). Similar social structures will continue to exist in many other countries; for as long as judgemental people exist, society will never eradicate ethnic slurs and will provide PC/censorship to prevent them. Allen (1990, p. 4) observes these lexical tendencies: '...

profusion of ethnic slurs in our language obviously reflects the bigotry and prejudice in our cultural history'.

As the words spread into popular speech, people began to associate the reality of the ethnic and class referents more closely with the euphemism and the words lost their euphemistic ability (Allen, 1990, p. 78).

Australian English contains various derogatory labels. For example, *wog*, which is employed to mean *western oriental gentleman*, *worker on government service* or *golliwog* as its origin, is the derogatory or pejorative term for Arab, Italian, Greek or those with Mediterranean or Middle Eastern ethnic origin (Zissiadis, 2004). The original Australian theatre show *Wogs Out of Work* which was released in 1987 caused a huge controversy over the title, and the New South Wales state government was forced to intercept its utilisation due to social movements. Eventually the title was permitted; nevertheless most people at that time were sensitive and nervous about the overt presence of those pejoratives in the public place. However, the comedy movie titled *The Wog Boy* released in Australia in early 2000 did not provoke any public rage; moreover it recorded the highest weekend box-office revenue of any Australian movies at that time. This acceptance and toleration of the lexical item *wog* might be a sign and/or stimuli to modify the conventional concept towards the word in amelioration (Sugimoto, 2000). It is highly presumable that this manner would lead to the shift in connotations for *POM (Prisoner of Motherland)* which was to become well-known slur word for English people in Australia.

In terms of legal issues related to racial and ethnic terms and their discussion, official recognition and social awareness must be involved. Apart from the case demonstrated above, people are generally aware of PC/PIC and censorship in Japan. Correspondingly, racial discrimination is illegal in Japan. Nevertheless, no legal definition of discrimination against ethnicity is present. As a result, this tendency creates more prejudice at the public level for Japanese people against minority groups who share the same ethnic origin as others such as Koreans, Buraku, Ainu and Okinawans. Sugimoto (1997) is incensed:

While Article 14 of Japan's constitution stipulates that, 'All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin,' no reference is made to discrimination based on ethnicity (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 185).

Terms associated with PC/censorship become tasteless, resulting in the rendering of its connotation and denotation. If these terms do not represent their functions, alternatives will be applied due to social demands. In other words, our society is one that produces PC/censored terms, which breed further PC/censored terms. Significant elements in our linguistic habits and patterns are contributed to not only by the prohibition of PIC and censored terms but also by one's perception.

3.2.1.3 Disability and Ageism

Unlike the subjects of gender and race, there have been struggles with establishing the status of PC/censorship linked to disability (e.g., *blind*, *legally blind*, *partially sighted*, *handicapped*, *disabled*, *visually challenged*, etc), and ageism (e.g. *old*, *older person*, *senior citizen*, *pensioner*, etc). The problem here also underlines social attitudes towards these topics, rather than linguistic elements of the terms themselves. This is partly due to the majority of the population having low-level interest in these issues. As people's conventional conceptualisation and interest in the PC/censored terms increase, individual ideas about particular subjects change more readily. This element is absent from the issues of disability and aging, which contributes to the failure to establish suitable PC/censored terms. The issues of gender and race face all ages in everyday life. On the other hand, topics such as disability and aging are generally avoided by the majority of society, who do not wish to face these issues. This reinforces the attitude of Kleege (1999), who is a legally blind lecturer in the United States and prefers the term *blind* to describe herself:

As with my students, I could have taken the time to educate them, to explain that blindness does not equal ineptitude. It does not even necessarily mean an absolute lack of sight. But I had more important things to say. My blindness was an irrelevant fact that they did not need to know about me, like my religion or political affiliation (Kleege, 1999, p. 12).

PC/censored language is customarily derived from popular attitudes, especially those belonging to the society at which the particular issue is targeted, and this is another factor affecting the low impact of disability and aging on PC/censored language. Disabled and aged people currently have an ambiguous linguistic, legal and social status, which cannot be equated with either socially influential issues like gender and race, or trifling issues such as gossip or street language. Influential issues attract the interest of the majority, whereas the opinions of disabled and aged people are apt to be overlooked and are rarely reflected on by the general society. This is because people subconsciously concentrate on prevailing major problems and do not consider the opinions of minority people very deeply. A significant example to depict this is the opinion that "Many people with disabilities now reject the label 'disabled' and prefer the term 'differently abled'" (Reah, 1998, p. 54), whereas, *disabled* is the broadly accepted and utilised term in current English speaking societies and is not considered to be a pejorative code.

It is worth noting that the mass media plays a very significant role in PC/censorship. Allen (1990, p. 11) notes that 'As the country became more industrialized... the mass media, beginning with minstrelsy and vaudeville, reflected more and more the concerns, the interests, and the social worlds of their mainly urban audience'. It is commonly accepted that the mass media is one of the most powerful entities affecting language restriction. The mass media have also produced the dilemma that the form of language itself may receive too much concentration, while the motivations of the people who use the language and create a society are widely neglected. Alteration of the linguistic habituation itself would not be implemented successfully without social support for the changes. Terms which are prejudiced against the disabled and ageist language have not yet been dealt with successfully, due to the ambiguous status of these groups, which is reflected by the attitudes of the mass media. These attitudes focus on the linguistic practice surrounding the topic in particular, but not on the truth and foundation of the argument.

3.2.2 Decisive Ingredients of Linguistic Leverage

It has been widely assumed that domination of linguistic effectors, in the phonological sense, can be constructed by social structures, which vary according to the language and its accents and vocabulary. A clear example of linguistic variation can be found in the continuum of the Australian phonological norm on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). In 1932, when the ABC was founded, the British norm, which is the prestigious Received Pronunciation (RP), was accepted in relation to phonological usage, and male English announcers were favoured for radio programs. However, the educated Australian accent has prevailed since 1983 and is standardised in accordance with an Australian dictionary rather than a British one regarding its linguistic utilisation, on both radio and television (Romaine, 1994). This transformation has been motivated by a reaction against what is referred to as 'cultural cringe' (Romaine, 1994, p. 18), yet this outcome would not have emerged without social support and endorsement. 'What causes a particular way of speaking to be perceived as superior is the fact that it is used by the powerful' (Romaine, 1994, p. 19). This phenomenon mirrors the acceptance of both linguistic divergence and homogeneity, as can be seen in Melbourne, Australia, which in fact has the third largest Greek population of any city in the world after Athens and Thessaloniki (Clyne, 1991; Sugimoto, 2000).¹

In Japan, legions of people originally from rural areas reside in the Kanto region around Tokyo and the Kansai region which is on the periphery of Osaka. The vast majority of people from outside these cities tend to switch their original rural phonological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, morphological and prosodic patterns and formulae into those practised in these two major districts while they reside within them. This transference however, does not occur in the opposite direction, or in cases where one moves from one major centre to another within a single language according to sociological differences. At the same time, people from Osaka consistently preserve their phonetic distinction while in Tokyo, due to their vital sense of identity and strong motivation. According to

¹ Romaine (1994, p. 68) notes that Melbourne was 'once primarily a monolingual town, but now has the largest concentration of Greek speakers' outside of Greece.

Rayfield's study, on a larger scale, such as the comparison of first and second languages, lexical switch is likely to occur from second to first language, which is a contradictory transference to the phonological switch, which takes place in the other direction in most cases (as cited in Clyne, 1991, pp. 160-161). This indicates that social affinity, rather than geographical remoteness, is a decisive factor for subconscious selection of the types of linguistic variation. People's attitudes towards these differences are oriented towards notions of social power rather than a simple categorisation of superiority and inferiority (Margulis, 1975; Romaine, 1994). According to Allan and Burridge (1991) the effect of these linguistic leverages can be determined by two factors: social power structures and relationships between communicators. This section explores these factors, introducing power structure, intimacy of the interlocutors and groupism, as well as the type of interaction, which is also noteworthy to mention regarding issues of linguistic leverage.

3.2.2.1 Power Structure

The degree of the power one has gained in society is structured by conventionally recognised principles that involve social stratification constituted of two particular baseline units. The first of these units derives from one's educational background and socioeconomic status such as occupation, residential place, material possessions, etc. which can be obtained by the individual and are attached to one's effort. The other of these units is that of family, race, ethnicity, age, etc. which are innately determined (Sugimoto, 1996). In a regional and social sense, this principle creates linguistic variations such as vernacular and patois. To some extent, they are also correlated with the register and style, both of which reinforce the euphemistic lexicon. According to this analysis, linguistic restriction is influenced primarily by social stratification, namely power structure. Considering power structure in a social framework, from the perspective of measurement and the effectiveness of collectivity, the contributing influences can fall into four categories: (1) Majority Predominant Group, (2) Majority Subordinate Group, (3) Minority Predominant Group, and (4) Minority Subordinate Group. It is intuitively comprehensible that many people will fall into interdisciplinary categories, as the attempt at classification helps to clarify the power structure underlying society.

Undoubtedly these units can be constructed by a wide range of factors, but the basics are the quantitative and qualitative backgrounds of the participants. For example, (1) Majority Predominant Group: the more people, the more powerful PC becomes. This group includes a large number of members with high social status such as doctors, lawyers, executives and scholars, whose opinions and theoretical and empirical accounts are influential. From quantitative and qualitative perspectives, namely their numerical strength and distinctive social eminence, this is undoubtedly the most powerful group, and social support for their beliefs in most cases is obtainable without major difficulties. (2) Majority Subordinate Group: this group consists of a sufficient number of people, but their low and/or recognisable social status can enable the group to affirm their beliefs and opinions. Reflection of their beliefs is not as strong as in (1), due mainly to the group members' lower status in the social hierarchy. (3) Minority Predominant Group: a combination of (1) and (2). Despite the high status of people belonging to this group, their opinion is not as easily accepted as group (2) by society due to numerical insufficiency. (4) Minority Subordinate Group consists of members whose social status is not quite powerful enough to create the wave of influence led by their beliefs, or this group has an insufficient quantity of people supporting their cognition. This is obviously the least effective unit, so that their endeavours can hardly merit great attention, social support and adherence. Hence, the degree of the power decreases from (1) to (4), while (2) and (3) are not nearly as clear-cut for social effectiveness and status. If certain linguistic utilisations, such as PC, rely on (4), acceptance of PC in society becomes impossible, due to the lack of power and influence of this group. The universal consequences and the validity of all PC/censored language in society are determined by this power structure, albeit distinctive linguistic habituation can be observed within identical groups, exposing the implications governing linguistic engagement. Social support is an indispensable item for the establishment of language practice and its effectiveness can be convinced by discourse and ideology of the social dominance in a sense of both quality and quantity (Kubota, 1998).

In terms of the qualitatively effective model, the theory of the status levels and hierarchy of the above groups has been developed and applied by Gile. Simultaneously, we should

not lose Gile's sight of the effects of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' (as cited in Clyne, 1991, p. 89). Ethnolinguistic vitality derives from a legion of components: economic status, self-perceived social status, socio-historical factors such as historically acquired ability to cope with minority status..., the status of the language' (Clyne, 1991, p. 89). These qualitative factors are difficult to assess accurately, unlike quantitative counterparts such as demographic status, which are one of the components establishing ethnolinguistic vitality. Thus the quantitative data are more sharply recognisable because of the numerical evidence as well as the cognitive distinction created by 'numbers, group distribution, and institutional support' (Clyne, 1991, p. 89). This is also confirmed by Tajfel's theory that the affirmation in a social categorising unit can convey successfully its core ideas and beliefs, which eventually enables existing groups to be aware of it as an alternative rather than an inferior path (as cited in Clyne, 1991, p. 89).

Power structures are constructed by conditional and unconditional senses. The conditional sense is shaped more by social custom, commonsense and ethics, rather than unchangeably defined sources such as described laws and overtly defined rules (Nakane, 1978). The former is generally regarded as the Japanese type while the latter is considered its western counterpart.

3.2.2.2 Groupism

In spite of the difficulties of multi-dimensional groups, an intuition of affinity can be created which includes 'nationality, language, religion and values system' (Fishman et al., as cited in Clyne, 1991, p. 94). Everyone possesses a subconscious wish to be affiliated with a collective or acknowledged as a member of an autonomous unit, irrespective of its magnitude (Hayashi, 1988; March, 1996; Matsumoto, 1996; Reah, 1998). This natural phenomenon, known as 'act of identity' (Romaine, 1994, p. 36), signals a personal desire to indicate social belonging as a member of a certain category. Similar to speaking a standard language inside a country, this can be detected by the code-switching process in linguistic variations and accommodations. Even though a sense of unity can be established by the use of standardised language within a homogeneous group, there also needs to be a personal link with a group, indicating

heterogeneity and uniqueness from others. This is achieved by other social relationships which establish group cohesion, which sometimes includes more extensive intricate association within the society since '... heteronymy and autonomy reflect political and cultural rather than purely linguistic factors...' (Romaine, 1994, p. 16). This is illustrated succinctly by the inclination of the first language preservation policy or a policy of maintaining heritage languages such as aboriginal languages in Australia and the language spoken by the Ainu (Japan's indigenous inhabitants). By legally recognising first languages, those people were reinstated with their native language, which affirms their presence and sense of identity. However, language on its own is not enough to establish social status or equality.

... Aboriginal people need the language power and the skills of the culture that impedes their self-determination. Prejudice and injustice are not simply linked to language, nor reversed through the restoration of language (Kalantzis, Cope, & Slade, 1989, p. 56).

As long as a proximate relationship exists between the addressor and addressee, politically and socially controlled language can be practised as an indicator of their mateship and/or a groupism. This creates a so-called *in-group* or *we-group*, which is the opposite of an *out-group* or *your/their group* (Billington, 1966; Doi, 2001a; Elwood, 2001; March, 1996; Markus & Kitayama, as cited in Takata, 2002; Nakane, 1967; Neustupny, 1987; Niyekawa, 1991; Sugimoto, 1996; Yagi, 1994). It can be difficult to define a group clearly; for example, ethnic association does not always include the linguistic similarity with a speech community or linguistic affirmation does not always indicate common cultural values. Nevertheless, group membership can generally be recognised by indicators ranging from religion, gender, nationality, value systems, age, ethnicity and racial identity, which provides an arbitrary categorisable sense of belonging and close proximity. This is known as '*gezelligheid* (social togetherness)' (Clyne, 1991, p. 93), which maintains and/or asserts the cultural core values in unity among the heterogeneity.

As the uniqueness of Japanese society in contrast to western counterparts is evident, many scholars and intellectuals demonstrate that Japanese people are group-oriented and

attached to a particular social scheme (March, 1996; Neustupny, 1987). March (1996) describes Japanese as those who:

... see themselves not in the first place as individuals, but as members of groups to which they have allegiances and responsibilities. They are preeminently social beings dependent on groups for approval, companionship, and identity (March, 1996, p. 11).

Japanese find a compliant attitude empowering because it stems from attachment to a unit. It brings about 'a powerful, lifelong emotional grip on and identification with people and groups critical to personal well-being, social status, social identity, group and family membership, and conformity to the group' (March, 1996, p. 43). This contrasts to Westerners who are more individual-oriented (Condon, 1984; March, 1996; Matsumoto, 1996; Nakane, 1967, 1978):

... the essence of Western civilization is individualism: the idea that men and women are most naturally themselves when they speak their mind freely, form independent judgements, and pursue truth bravely, free of social pressure. It is a noble ideal (March, 1996, p. 9).

It is strikingly important to preserve the perceptions here that all Japanese and Westerners cannot be divided simply into either category, and various superficial factors exist under the surface of cultural diversities (Takata, 2002).

The characteristic phenomenon of generally categorised Japanese collective behaviour, analysed by Sugimoto (1997), relies heavily on a *han* network system. Within a *han*, which is a small group, each one is expected to compete for improvement of their various achievements, while being responsible for the unsatisfactory performance of other companies in the group. Living under the pressure of the *han* system requires 'collective responsibility (*rentai sekinin*)' (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 247) which brings about the successful completion of tasks despite the vertical authoritarianism prevailing in Japan. Although it might be expected that Japanese conformity would produce stagnation in business, Japan has a horizontally controlled system of compliance, which derives from Tokugawa's Edo shogunate period (1603-1867) when quasi-spy organizations of five and ten people units such as *go-nin gumi* and *jyuu-nin gumi* existed. This concept is still perceivable in Japan after World War II as *tonarigumi*

(*neighbourhood watch*) and even in contemporary Japanese society in areas ranging from formal organizations: corporations and schools to local community counterparts, that is neighbourhood associations (Sugimoto, 1996, 1997). This ideology established in Japanese society creates a sharp borderline between in and out groups, while leaving legible distinctiveness between public and private sectors and issues (Doi, 2001a). This idea is supported by the tendency to belong to a particular group rather than attempting to communicate with various guests during a social gathering.

The system of *mura* (village), which is a larger affiliation than a *han*, is often referred to by many scholars (Araki, 1994; March, 1996; Nakane, 1967). *Mura* has similar features but different systematic structures and operational rhetoric compared to *han*, and the *mura* is another discernible element which has been critical in the development of Japanese attitudes and behaviours. Distinct types of group cohesion can be seen in the Japanese *mura* concept in contrast to its western counterparts which interpret authority structures differently, with an emphasis on individual contexts, especially *egalitarianism* (Nakane, 1967, 1978; Sugimoto, 1997).

As demonstrated by Hayashi (1988), the Japanese word for *competition* did not exist a hundred years ago, and there were entirely different principles ingrained in the concept of Japanese collectivism.

A western-style transaction is based on the rights of atomistic individuals. Buyer and seller engage in a no-holds-barred tussle in the marketplace. The seller uses all his leverage to get the highest price and the buyer bargains tenaciously to get the lowest price. Let's call this Rule 1. The struggle establishes a minimum-maximum point for both sides – the deal – and a clear winner and loser. If the vanquished party later strengthens his position, he can challenge the victor to a return match.

In Japan, the seller and buyer operate under a very different code. They both manoeuvre carefully so there will be neither a winner nor a loser. Both parties figure out the other's intentions, find a median point where each can make a profit, and conclude the deal at that price. I call this Rule 2. Westerners see this as a form of collusion (Hayashi, 1988, p. 94).

Competition does exist in Japanese society, but operates within the *han* or *mura* scale. Hayashi (1988) demonstrates how clusters' competition works in Japan, pointing out its

different structure from the western counterpart. Hayashi utilises the competition between Japanese navy and army over the exploitation of the fighting jets in World War II; the famous *Zero* fighter was developed by the navy while the *Hayabusa* (*Falcon*) fighter was developed by the army. The army was not provided with *Zero* technology by the navy:

Japanese-style competition is between clusters. Here I am using 'cluster' in its technical sense. In statistics, when total sets of elements are classified into groups, as far as possible each group is composed of homogeneous elements and is itself heterogeneous. The separation of the entire set into groups is called stratification, and each group forms a stratum. Conversely, the internal elements of each group are, as far as possible, heterogeneous, and each group is homogeneous. Separating the total set into groups is called clusterization, and each group forms a cluster (Hayashi, 1988, p. 99).

These *han* and *mura* structures centre upon the original and characteristic features of Japan's collectivism, which demands individual submissiveness and obedience for the sake of the unit which vertical society supports. Social lubrication is critical to such affiliation, so that business and economical arguments require compromising attitudes such as *awase* (*more-or-less*) style rather than *give and take*, which is referred to as *erabi* (*either/or, yes or no*) style. This is also the reason why traditions such as gift-giving have prospered since ancient times, and it is not acceptable to open the gift wrapping in front of the giver, nor show one's joy to them at a public venue. In Japan, such sacrifice of self-expressiveness implies social virtue.

3.2.2.3 Intimacy

Those linguistic diversities and dialects representing groupism are crucially interrelated to the scale of the intimacy between Interlocutors. Japanese characteristics centred by groupism create communication dilemmas. Within the Japanese social unit, based on the *han* and *mura* system, it is an inherent norm for Japanese to achieve tasks along with the assistance and acceptance of others. Consequently, group members acknowledge other members' individual backgrounds and cognitive principles so that offence to others becomes a widely and tacitly accepted behaviour. In this kind of subconsciously standardised social norm, it is difficult for Japanese people to commence smooth

communication without taking into account the other person's background, including their home-town, relative age, educational history, especially at high school and tertiary level, personal interests, social position, current and past occupational similarities and their relations with the others (Asaoka, 1987; Nakane, 1967, 1978). Suzuki heeds this account, including comments referring to English-speaking settings.

... the Japanese feel uneasy and they cannot communicate well until they know the other's social position. However, it does not seem to be the case in English speaking situations (as cited in Asaoka, 1987, pp. 17-18).

If this manner is inevitable, it is often considered unsophisticated when one shows naiveté towards another's background in conversation. Choice of the various Japanese honorific patterns is often designed by characteristics of Japanese groupism, or the so-called vertical social structure including seniority in society.² It must be stated that this groupism, which exists in any society/country, can be divided into two: vertically and horizontally oriented structures. According to Nakane's (1967, 1978) critical point of view, *tateshakai* (*vertical society*) is a picture which identifies a conventional Japanese group structure based on the community, group and institution to which one belongs. This groupism is not structured on a universal scale but as a very small and limited entity which exists within a large group. In contrast, *yokoshakai* (*horizontal society*) derives from various intrinsically and purposely obtained substances, e.g. individual age, gender, qualifications and degrees, etc. In terms of exploitation of honorifics, however, four other characteristics can be identified, such as benefit/favour, *senpai/koohai*, which is known as the 'parent-substitute relationship' (March, 1996, p. 148), that is superficially systematised concern such as between a shopkeeper and a customer, and distance created between the interlocutors according to the context. Appearance of honorifics in Japanese is, in fact, not due only to the vertical affiliation in Japanese society, but is also profoundly linked with these other aspects (Sasaki, 1994).

To Japanese, the decisive factor in bridging social gaps and creating a more intimate relationship/conversation between people of other nations lies in appearance and behaviour (Suzuki & Oiwa, 1999). For example, most Japanese feel comfortable

² Japanese honorific patterns will be explored in Chapter 8: 8.3.3.1.

associating with Asian-looking people who use standard Japanese and socially engaged body language, and dress as the majority of Japanese at a certain age do. In other words, lack of those elements will result in the broader distance between interlocutors in contact situations by Japanese and people from other nations (Asaoka, 1987; March, 1996).

In contrast, background information and physical appearance do not effect smooth communication and they do not seem to be a major disturbance for the Australian counterpart. An example is that university students in Japan never pronounce their professor's/lecturer's name without the title *kyoujyu* (Prof.) or *hakase* (Dr.), or *sensei* (teacher), in contrast to Australian students using their professor's/lecturer's first name only.

How intimate one is with an interlocutor becomes a factor for expressing propriety as well. Fundamental parameters of decreasing formality were illustrated by Joos as in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1

Fundamental Parameters of Decreasing Formality

Frozen > Formal > Consultative > Casual > Intimate

(as cited in Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 40)

Thus, for example, it is not controversial when one uses abusive PIC/censored terms within a particular group, as observable within the casual and intimate levels recorded above. Nevertheless, controversy arises when such pejoratives are used between different groups, which can be reversed towards the frozen, formal and consultative levels. In Australia, as Eagleson (as cited in Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 122) notes, 'Australian Aborigines find terms like black, blackfella, darkie, Abo, nigger, and boong offensive when used by white Australians; however, they reportedly show no strong aversion to using these terms among themselves'. Another example is the situation observed in Japan by the psychologist Tsuneo Yamashita, who described a mild and amiable interaction between two students. One student was disabled and the other was from *Burakumin*, which literally means person/people of the hamlet, a euphemism for

Japan's outcaste group as well as a PIC (or prohibited) lexical item. The initial situation of apparent intimacy was consistent with a semantic transformation, as described below;

On a university campus, I witnessed a scene wherein one student said, 'Hey, spastic!' to another student in a wheelchair, and he replied, 'Yeah, *Burakumin!*' to the first student (who was a club member of *Buraku Freedom*). It was a joking and genial atmosphere and made me realise that the relationship matters (as cited in Yagi, 1994, p. 172, translated by Hasegawa).

Intimacy bridged over the racism and ethnicity linked issues can be produced by the three stages: (1) pre-modern, (2) modern, and (3) post-modern. (1) pre-modern is the stage at which people cognise the each term and cautiously engage with it in accordance with individual judgement. (2) modern is conversely the stage at which all terms which are regarded as and related with the issue are strictly prohibited disregarding any contextual cultivated interrelation. (3) post-modern is the stage of cross-over between the former two stages, and can openly pronounce each other's distinctions (Sugimoto, 1996, p. 155). Above example demonstrates that both interlocutors are in the post-modern situation which is conceived as building the closest intimacy.

Having discussed the Japanese centred intimacy compared with western counterparts, these characteristics might cultivate the impression that Japanese are people who cherish social harmony. It should be emphasised that, compared with western countries (including Australia), this distinction can be stressed but many nations have gained similar cognition.

Intimacy embodies that the role not only of addressees' but also of addressors' becomes significant in any circumstances as communication operates. This has been demonstrated extensively by Bell (1984), who advocates that the intimacy between interlocutors can be determined by the scale of their association as a given role embedded in an interaction. The structure representing this politeness strategy, called *audience design*, can divide the interlocutors into five mainstreams: (1) speaker, (2) addressee, (3) auditor, (4) overhearer, and (5) eavesdropper (also cited in Azuma, 1997). Table 3.1 indicates the contexts between them from the speaker's direction, followed by the scale of the effect on their intimacy in Figure 3.2.

Table 3.1
Contexts between Interlocutors from Speaker's Direction

	Recognised	Agreed to Listen	Spoken to
Addressee	Yes	Yes	Yes
Auditor	Yes	Yes	No
Overhearer	Yes	No	No
Eavesdropper	No	No	No

(Adapted from Bell, 1984, p. 159, also cited in Azuma, 1997, p. 101)

Figure 3.2
Scale of the Effect on Intimacy between Interlocutors

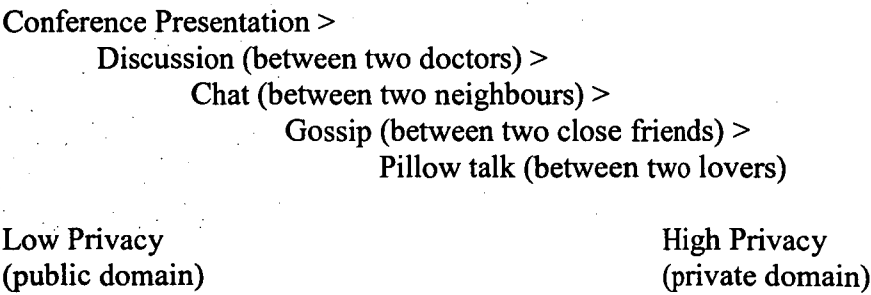
(1) Speaker > (2) Addressee > (3) Auditor > (4) Overhearer > (5) Eavesdropper

(Adapted from Bell, 1984, p. 159, also cited in Azuma, 1997, p. 101)

3.2.2.4 Types of Interaction

As a consequence of power structure, intimacy between interlocutors and groupism, the implied affection and the variation of the language can all be determined by the type of interaction. This is a significant part of communicative context. To describe the correlation between the levels and kinds of interactions between interlocutors, five interactive styles in Figure 3.3 have been developed by Le (2002) to describe the levels of intimacy or privacy from low privacy (public domain) to high privacy (private domain):

Figure 3.3
Levels of Intimacy in Five Main Interactive Styles



(Le, 2002)

Although the first two factors are especially apt to be determined by the pre-imposed environments and unchangeable conditions, target interlocutors become the vital factors in deciding the magnitude of the politeness in the interactions. Conference presentation is typically conceived as a very formal and polite language use, but there can be cases where one overlooks the familiarity of the target participants. Conversely, when the majority of participants presenting at a conference are on an equal academic level with the presenter, associate with the same high level of academia and are frequently associated with one another, language use should be transformed into a style which connotes a close and harmonious relationship.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated how the cultivation of euphemism can be reinforced by sociolinguistic factors. The primary discovery was that euphemisms were practised extensively by the communicators in socioculturally motivated disciplines, such as: (1) PC/censorship, sexist referencing, expletives, curses, racism, ethnic prejudices, disability and ageism, and (2) linguistic leverage, cultivated by power structure, groupism, interlocutors' intimacy, and types of interaction.

The situations demonstrated in this chapter have revealed the fact that socially-constructed solid euphemisms are embodied by people according to qualitatively and quantitatively satisfactory scales. In other words, human cognition constituting general perception almost always functions in the process of euphemism formation and requires examination. The way in which human cognition functions to produce euphemism will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

PSYCHOLINGUISTICALLY STIMULATED EUPHEMISM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, euphemism is associated intimately with factors embedded in social roles. In human interactions sociolinguistic motivations contribute substantially to the use of euphemism. Nevertheless, sociolinguistic factors motivating euphemism do not automatically lead to uniformity of individual cognitive perceptions. It is not difficult to see that the use of euphemism is prevalent when there are administrative language restrictions together with fluid shifts of individual conceptualisation. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore the interlocutors' cognitive processes in creating euphemism.

Individual conceptualisations, including knowledge, past experience, values, and mutual understanding towards objective actions and events, are different for different individuals, hence various expressions can be presented to denote and connote substances, lexical items, statements and issues. Unique conceptualisation and function of thinking rely heavily on the each individual's cognitive mechanisms for lexical items, verbalism and locutions in encountering different situations. The contributions of the mechanisms of human cognitive process to euphemism will be explored in this chapter.

4.2 PSYCHOLINGUISTIC FACTORS WHICH MANIFEST EUPHEMISM

General semantics is a term created by Count Alfred Korzybski and frequently highlighted by notable linguists (as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966). It is depicted as a mechanism intimately interrelated with human concepts and behaviour patterns. Euphemisms constitute important human language habits, the source of which is rooted in psychological nature. To analyse the phenomenon, examinations will be conducted

from various perspectives in reference to empirical accountability and previously acquired knowledge and understanding. There will also be a discussion of the pros, cons and/or non-effects of the subject, object and the topic and main theme based on contextual reflections.

Innocently embedded euphemistic items and phrases may appear as sugar-coating the truth behind representative statements. This continues to occur in spite of ongoing cautions such as: '... we need to test words by looking behind the word to find what it stands for, to find that to which it refers' (Lutz, 1996, p. 135) or, as Robert Hogan, secretary from the National Council of Teachers of English in the United States, states: 'The question is not just whether subjects and verbs agree, but whether statements and facts agree' (Rank, 1974, p. 3) since 'Euphemisms are to the tongue what novocain is to the gums' and are often used to produce '... the separation of words from truth' (Kanfer, 1974, p. 13). To understand this better, it is necessary to examine the more basic aspects of linguistic habituation, prior to the development of the core argument about euphemism for this study.

Two aspects of linguistic habituation need to be examined. First, why people tend to exercise euphemistic expressions subconsciously, and second, the specific tactics of information deception. The section below addresses the first aspect after exploring the psycholinguistically contextualised mechanisms and factors influencing the variations of euphemisms which have been demonstrated so far.

4.2.1 Predispositions of Human Conceptualisation

People take their first linguistic habituation for granted and show ignorance of the unique nuances of semantics and language modification. Interrogative sentences in English, for example, *How tall are you?*, *How old are you?*, and *How hungry are you?* contain non-problematic elements for the purpose of obtaining information between interlocutors because they are commonly utilised sentences and unambiguously answerable. On the contrary, many are inclined to be doubtful about expressions such as: *How short are you?*, *How young are you?*, and *How full are you?*. These interrogative

statements are not the only demonstrations of ambiguity, but great numbers of other platitudes can indicate our unconscious linguistic habits, and this is highlighted especially when one encounters slightly unfamiliar contexts. A conspicuous case was outlined by a blind lecturer, Kleege (1999), who prefers the word *blind* to any other euphemisms:

Of course people who are blind use language the same way. Though the joke “‘I see,’ says the blind man” can always get a laugh out of children and perhaps adults as well, blind people are as likely as anyone else to say, ‘I see what you mean,’ or ‘Let me look at that,’ and without excessive self-consciousness or irony (Kleege, 1999, p. 22).

Each example above implies that human linguistic behaviour ‘... has a qualitatively different character in its relation to thought and meaning’ (Kalantzis, Cope, & Slade 1989, p. 16) and is distant from the formulation of human conceptualisation and intention.

Numerous scholars argue and raise the question about foreign language employed as a social tool (Berns, as cited in Savignon, 2002; Chino, 1986; Sekiguchi, 2000; Urade, 2001). The universally overlooked component underlying this discussion is whether the purpose and motivation for using the language is as a tool for communicating in daily real-world settings. If this is not the case, language can be considered nothing but a useless tool (Sekiguchi, 2000). The interrelation of language and perception has been scrutinised in the psycholinguistic field. Apart from the judgement above that it is correct or incorrect, we may have to admit that the common theory is that language is a vital medium for human interaction, and that each person’s personally formulated unique conceptualisation is determined by individually utilised language. This theory was introduced as the language style *Newspeak*, which is a term coined by George Orwell (as cited in Reah, 1998, pp. 33-34) in the literary spheres of English.¹ It is also broadly known as *the linguistic determinism hypothesis* and postulated as *the Sapir-Whorf Theory* in the field of psycholinguistics (Kashiwazaki, 2002; Takano, 2002). The linguistic determinism hypothesis may also be considered to be a refined version of *the Benjamin Lee Whorf Theory* which uses the example that the number of words for *snow*

¹ Also see Chapter 2: 2.7.

in the Eskimo language is not disputed by numerous scholars (Azuma, 1997; Emmitt & Pollock, 1991; Hall, 1977; Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990; Lutz, 1996; Margulis, 1975; McLoughlin, 2000; Romaine, 1994). Whorf insists that Eskimos have 400 diverse words implying different kinds of *snow*, which indicates great variety in the unique mechanisms of human conceptualisation. In other words, Eskimos conceptualise snow in 400 different ways.

However, Azuma (1997) denounces Whorf's suggestion that there are 400 different words for *snow*. He claims that the initial four words for snow; '*aput* (snow on the ground), *gana* (falling snow), *piqsirpoq*, (drifting snow), and *qimuqsuq* (a snow drift)' (Emmitt & Pollock, 1991, p. 49), which were originally singled out by anthropologist, F. Boas, were arbitrarily magnified by Whorf to the 400 words with no corroboration. Also, the abundance of words referring to the same phenomenon (described by the singular *snow* in English), does not tangibly attest to the hypothesis of language determinism, and thus causes an apparent dilemma. It is assumed that a language affects the form of ideas and the conceptualisation of the language user to a certain, but not large, extent (Doi, 2001a; Takano, 2002). However arithmetical demonstration of a particular lexical item does not prove the theoretical argument that: '... language precedes and directs a person's thinking' (Margulis, 1975, p. 77). It also reminds us that linguistic structural distinctions may affect the way that one perceives the subject but does not inexorably mean a lack of theoretical performance and attitude. As Hayakawa and Hayakawa (1990, p. 52) state, 'The presence or absence of such terms has no necessary connection with the presence or absence of the corresponding attitudes'. In addition, even if so hypothesised, this argument will create more surreal and unreliable contradictions, for example that people with autism or infants, who are unable to demonstrate their language ability, can neither think nor hold internal desires (Azuma, 1997; Reah, 1998). Rather than asserting the dominance of the interrelationship between language and human conceptualising, as the linguistic determinists do, a plausible explanation is the connection between language and thought explained as a metaphysical language of mind called, 'mentalese' (Azuma, 1997, p. 192). As Pinker stresses:

People do not think in English or Chinese or Apache; they think in a language of thought. This language of thought probably looks a bit like all these languages; presumably it has symbols for concepts, and arrangements of symbols that correspond to who did what to whom... (as cited in Azuma, 1997, p. 191).

This argument corresponds with the view that social conditions give rise to various conceptualisations, requiring ideas to be depicted in unique ways of expression. It is common to witness environmental/contextual factors leading to interlocutors' modifications of behaviour in order to display appropriateness. Whorf's theory would be correct and pertinent if only the ideological modification was disregarded entirely.

These cognitive mechanisms motivate euphemisms which interweave with psychological settings, although the human conceptual system is something of which few of us are aware (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Exploration of this vital point will be outlined in the following section.

4.2.2 Universal Concept of Comprehension: Interpretation / Generalisation / Abstraction

The system for comprehending received information leads to qualitative semantic determinism and the creation of unique interpretations. To analyse this subconscious approach, the mnemonic system needs to be scrutinised. Memorisation on a large scale is divided into two parts: first memory, which is also called short-term memory or temporary memory, and second memory, which is regarded as long-term memory. The first memory is the operational memory, which is restricted to a small amount and is stored for a short period of time. This memory can be utilised to regulate and adjust the incoming information in an attempt to comprehend the information. The second memory, known as the *meaning memory* or *sense memory*, contains information of greater quantity and duration. So information that passes through the first memory realm and reaches the second memory realm usually becomes accumulated as knowledge. Thus, the phrase *easy to understand* means, precisely, easy to proceed to the state which foreshadows understanding, and *the state of understanding* refers to being able to store and preserve information as part of the second memory (Fujisawa, 1999).

'Understanding occurs when the information at the first memory realm is generalised and/or abstracted and advances to the second memory storage' (Fujisawa, 1999, p. 43, translated by Hasegawa) in a way that the information in the transferred message is semantically reasonable (Romaine, 1994). Thus, these two mnemonic realms can form diverse areas of information interpretation.

In a world where linguistic information can be interchanged, the major elements of the examples above which cause human interaction breakdown originate in the cohesiveness of the substituted information. This is called abstraction. In the abstraction process, the most significant information is usually exchanged, while the rest is disregarded. Therefore, 'The less abstract our language, the more concrete and specific we are because we are using language that includes a lot of detail and refers to a very low level of abstraction' (Lutz, 1996, p. 61). Some words create more specific identification than others. *Superman*, *Spiderman*, *GI Joe*, and *Batman* (lower level abstraction) are neither *toys* (higher level abstraction) nor *dolls* (higher level abstraction) to some people. The sentence *The dog is still a cute puppy* has captured a higher-level abstraction word *dog* and a lower-level abstraction *puppy*. Engagement of certain labels indicates the levels of abstraction to be practised, which implies that condensed description can be interpreted as high-level abstraction compared to simple naming or uttering which is considered as low-level abstraction. Scholars, experts and authorities tend to deploy arguments at the low levels of abstraction rather than explaining at higher levels, whereas code-switching towards the higher level of abstraction is required when addressing an audience unfamiliar with the particular field. The cornerstone for repulsing prejudice and stereotypes is again use of the highest levels of abstraction (Condon, Jr., 1966). However, high levels of abstraction which seem to be a clear and overt language level could be too simplistic and this can turn into a pitfall. Thus second/foreign language learners are required to be sceptical about the information given, particularly in reference to these six points, pointed out by Condon, Jr. (1966):

1. Is the term or statement involving the high-level abstraction *tentative or final*?
2. Is the statement absolute or probable?
3. Was the statement obtained inductively?
4. Continuing with the previous test we must ask, can the high-level abstraction be applied to a specific case?
5. Can the high-level abstraction be applied to everything? If so, what does it tell us? In other words, does the abstraction add anything to what we already know? If not, then the comment is as useless as one that cannot be applied to anything.
6. ... [D]oes a specific abstract term exist as a useful invention or convenience, or is it regarded as a thing itself? (Condon, Jr., 1966, pp. 42-43)

If the language determinism hypothesis has some validity, a verbally-produced statement is just one representation of immeasurable concepts. In general, our perceptive and linguistic representation implies one of three scopic levels of ramification: macroscopic, microscopic and submicroscopic. Our notion of the abstraction is first shaped at the macroscopic level. This is the common perceptive level where the object can be viewed on the site or contacted by hand. On the microscopic level, one can view only with the aid of an apparatus such as an X-ray machine. The submicroscopic level cannot be measured by human perception, regardless of the availability of support equipment. Scientific demonstrations which can prove the presence of atoms, electrons and so forth, are also examples of this level (Argulis, 1975). Therefore, nutrients which are consumed as part of our daily diet, such as vitamins, energy, protein, fat, carbohydrates, sodium, potassium and various others are highly abstracted elements at the submicroscopic level, rather than an element represented by the single label, *apple juice*. Levels of abstraction describe 'The idea of a vertical dimension in language' (Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 42). This vertical dimension is immeasurable in the sense of explicitness, and merely constructs the manifested formulas of concepts embedded in our minds because 'words are at our service and will be used differently by different people' (Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 42). This may be a crucial dimension to separate natural sciences from social sciences which are respectively worlds: '... unaffected by language and those that are very much changed by language' (Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 51).

4.2.3 Multithink and Doublethink

Apart from a discussion of statistics, in most cases there is no sole answer to a question, no single interpretation of a logical theory or only one solution to a problem. Humans are able to scrutinise and interpret questions in a wide range of directions and respond to objects in various manners, thus promoting the establishment of euphemisms. This trend has conventionally been referred to as *multithink*. The principle of *multithink*, which implies plurality of diverse accounts, is related closely to the grade of judgement value. In terms of depiction of the personal agreement, (albeit five scale dimensions), the various lexical alternatives can represent the scale of *agreement* and *disagreement* such as *extremely agree*, *strongly agree*, *agree*, *neutral*, *disagree*, *strongly disagree*, and *extremely disagree*. The theory of these conceptual parameters can also be applied in mathematics, which demonstrates 'an infinite-valued orientation', according to Hayakawa and Hayakawa (1990, p. 143), with the designs of a *fixed and agreed upon scale* such as 'temperature in degrees' and 'strength in horsepower or watts', and 'speed in miles per hour or feet per second', rather than the indicators of either one of two distinctively separated selections.

Doublethink, on the other hand, is more intrinsic and pertinent in nature and is commonly engaged when two extreme critical analyses are required. The two-valued orientation coined by Alfred Korzybski and the double-standard and/or two-dimensional orientation engaged in by Lazare (1989) and Gibson (1974), is referred to by these writers as doublethink, and has been introduced as the prime ingredient of 'two-valued logic' (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990, p. 137). This is radical discreteness, since it is, in Orwell's (1965, p. 165) words, '... the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them'.

When considering some arguments (apart from the influences of other elements), it is easy to observe contractive doublethink-based conceptualisation, which greatly influences mental determination. In the field of language education, for example, a recent decision to preclude the classical languages such as Latin and Greek from university entrance examination in the United Kingdom met with the approval of some

who believe the languages to be too unique and worthless to occupy a position in their education system (Trisman, as cited in Slattery, 2001). Others attack the decision for disregarding the merits to study of the classical languages. James Dahl, head of the classics at Brighton College, argues, 'The literature and influence of ancient authors have always led readers out of folly and into wisdom' (Slattery, 2004, p. R40). Likewise, the lower value of learning Japanese language compared to European languages in Australia is rationalised by the simplicity of Australia's economic tie with Japan and the utilitarian factors of Japanese language, and the complexity of the Japanese language itself. Thus, Japanese language learning is seen to be worthless and European language education should be promoted more enthusiastically in secondary school and universities (Slattery, 2001). This argument seems blind to the logic embedded in the fact that Japan is Australia's largest economic partner, whether its economy is depressed or not, and this provides students more practical incentives to learn Japanese than any other language. Furthermore, intellectual cultivation can be made more distinctively through linguistically dissimilar language and culture learning. It can also be argued that 12 years of education in English and mathematics does not result in all students becoming fully proficient in those areas, so that the lower achievement of Japanese as a foreign language in Australia, with far less time spent than on English and mathematics, should not simply be criticised as a waste of time. Rather it suggests a need to encourage more about LOTE learning in Australia (Snow, 2001).

The above examples have ambiguous elements which lie between the two extreme viewpoints, disregarding the possibility that numerous people might have chosen *unsure* as a response preferable to the rigid arguments: either *Pros/Cons*, *Yes/No* or *Agree/Disagree*. The following section explores the concrete framework of the process of making a multitude of cognitive elements correspond to an opinion, initiated by a single phrase or opinion.

4.2.3.1 Extensional World versus Intensional World

The variety of cognitive modes explained so far can be linked to the multiple ways of expressions not only for duplex but also for single judgements. Those endorsements

reflected by sociological and psychological factors are pervasive and contribute to the richness and variation of construction of expressive intentions, called 'stylistics' (Stanley, 1976, p. 176). When dissecting our attitude to a particular subject, our judgement and perceptions are formed sharply within two frameworks: (1) an extensional world, which constitutes some pre-acquired information based primarily on one's direct empirical attachments, while given language and information create (2) an intensional world which reflects the information providers' (or observers') preference and favours (Gibson, 1974; Korzybski, as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966, pp. 67-73; Lutz, 1996). When drawing an individual cognitive map (the theory of which will be explained extensively in Section 4.3.2), plainthink, doublethink and/or multiplethink function simultaneously to modify two worlds: the 'sense-data oriented' extensional world and the 'system-data oriented' intensional world (Condon, Jr., 1966, pp. 68-69). This theory leads to Bacon's inductive account that contradicted Plato's deductive cognitive procedures. These duplex thinking mechanisms demonstrate the key aspects underlining euphemisms, dysphemisms, and doublespeak, wherever the linguistic alternatives can be viewed. Human interaction can hardly be bifurcated from those linguistic alternatives, since the duplex cognitive mechanisms function as a natural tendency to formulate one's conceptualisation.

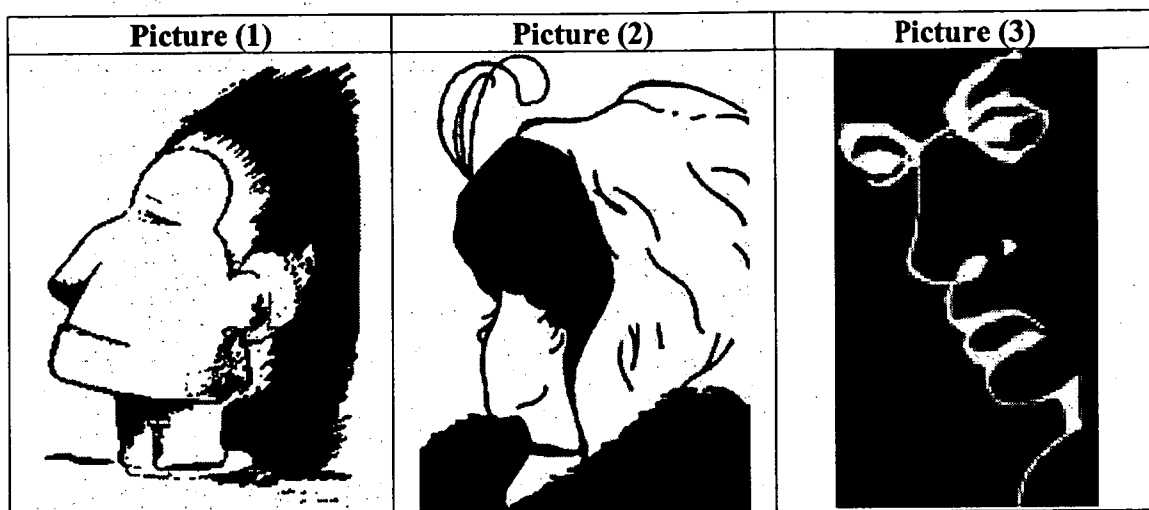
The ability of individual human beings to hold contradictory points of view on a common entity or phenomenon is something that will be very difficult to incorporate into artificial intelligence. We guess that such doublethink is necessary to permit an intelligent organism to pragmatically adapt to its environment. Most human groups have forms of ritual ceremony symbolizing death followed by resurrection or new birth, thus embodying the paradox that out of life comes death and out of death comes life (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 227).

Abstraction is the human cognitive system which functions in logical accounts. When so doing, according to Condon, Jr. (1966, p. 68), the extensional world is the orientation 'at the lowest levels of abstraction' which relies heavily on experience, compared to the intensional world orientated by 'higher levels of abstraction, with or without an awareness of the process of abstracting' which seeks counterstatement within complex systems and restrictions. In comparing the intensional world, in which the interpretational styles reflected by the determined linguistic and cultural factors

dominate, and the extensional world where individual concepts can be greatly affected by events and categories, it is much more dependable to commence our judgemental argument with the extensional world, to obtain less continuous cognitive inferences. Again these thoughts demonstrate that the context and one's connection to it is the crucial factor in determining how to view the object. As Romaine (1994, p. 30) points out, '... the context relativity of all observation at the same time as it demonstrates that social context and intention play a role in our judgements of what it means...'.

4.2.3.2 Self-fulfilling Prophecy

Despite the presence of multi/doublethink, single determination is forcefully and subconsciously served in most instances as if no alternatives were available. The factors contributing to this are explained in this section. Consider the three pictures below in which each can be presented as two objects. Picture (1) shows the back of a person wearing an Eskimo coat and carrying a handbag on her right arm. It is reflected by some kind of car light, but a close profile can also be identified. Picture (2) reveals a female's profile and her neck seen from the back on the diagonal left. She also wears a scarf streaming in the wind over her head. Nevertheless, some may see an elderly woman with a long nose and jaw. Picture (3) differs slightly from the other two, since the drawing is of a human face, wearing spectacles as well as the lexicon *Liar* being inscribed in white on the black backdrop. This exercise ascertains the difficulty of noticing two objects at the same time. The preliminary observation or arbitrarily disclosed information intrudes in a tricky way into the perception of the drawing from different angles, and identification of a totally new entity becomes unachievable, since the original information and/or perception intrinsically impede the cognitive ability to do so. In this instance, therefore, it is not easily detectable that the two objects in the first and second drawing correspond to this impediment. Moreover, the predicament rapidly worsens when proceeding to the third picture, which consists of the drawing and the word, especially after observing the first and second pictures which both comprise two separate drawings.



(Picture (1): *Optical illusions. WS. (n.d.)*, (2): *Fantastic optical illusion!!!: Young girl – old woman. (n.d.)*, (3): *Optical illusion 2. (n.d.)*)

This visual conceptualisation illustrates the corresponding relationship between language and one's conceptualisation. At this stage of the process of value judgement, individual determination naturally continues to be justified with prescriptive lexical items and phrases which represent one's intensional sense. Consider, for example, that using an arbitrarily categorised label *misbehaviour* seems to be an action that may be divorced from the authentic nature and character of the target person. Nevertheless, the real danger of this labelling process is the addressor's reaction in accordance with the description. After defining a person as a bad fellow, one will conventionally accumulate a subconsciousness tendency to observe the object as being so and may alter one's concept of him/her. This modified concept can result further in the labeller's linguistic and behavioural attitudes towards the subject, who will be perceived as if he is misbehaving, regardless of any manifest actions. Sociologist Robert K. Merton introduced this kind of linguistic nature as the *self-fulfilling prophecy* (as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966, pp. 60-61). Naming a subject causes the action to lead to the label or prediction that creates the action; this is a universal practice to justify the addressor's attitude and persuade others. Lexical items such as: *refugees*, *traffickers*, *boat people*, *asylum-seekers*, *queue jumpers*, *illegals*, *detainees*, *illegal immigrants* and even *terrorists*, were used during the federal election held in Australia in 2003 (Adams, 2003a, p. 13; Glenn, as cited in Adams, 2003c, p. 15). These lexical items unfortunately

contain negative connotations, which could cause a section of the population in Australia to consider these people as impostors and not support their request for asylum, disregarding the historical fact that a similar and tentative *refugee crisis* occurred 100-200 years ago with the arrival of the British. The Aborigines and their direct descendants, in this sense, are the only native Australians, so that all other races in Australia, in some sense, could be labelled with these lexical items. Focusing on the lexical item *terrorists*, moreover, people's hostility towards Muslims and Arab nations was immediately attached to this just before the Iraqi War in March 2003; despite the fact that they are not *terrorists* they can easily be connoted so. This consequence mirrors the danger of concept formation and linguistic utilisation:

... Americans [and Australians] are encouraged repeatedly by the government to 'report any suspicious activity', 'suspicious' not once being clearly defined. One must recall how the media at the onset was the voice that the public relied on for information and that voice tended to repeat 'Muslim' and 'Arab' while referring to the terrorists. Thus, a certain image of that which is suspicious came into existence, and it involved the Middle East (Schandl, 2002, p. 4).

Thus, these terms are fully responsible for misinterpretation and misbelief about these people, as their literal prescriptions impede the influx of manipulable cognition. Euphemism has been referred to as a self-filling prophecy because of the addressor's unexpressed intention. It is a strategy to cover up the lack of contextual settings for the event. This also implies that a single euphemism holds great potential to alter the foundation of other euphemistic substitutions and human behaviour.

4.2.3.3 Problem is the Problem

As well as the terms mentioned above in the example of *refugee crisis* in the previous section, a number of indices motivated by negative connotations can be observed frequently in contemporary society. Euphemisms (precisely speaking in this case, dysphemism from the perspective of the target people), such as *crisis*, to describe particular incidents, have been flourishing and result in the creation of exaggerated situations like *the US crisis*, *housing crisis*, *health care crisis*, *unemployment crisis*, *drought crisis* and *Australian Democrats crisis*, etc. The theory *abstracting our way*, which attempts to restrict various conceptualisations and promote the addressor's point

of view, becomes evident. The euphemisms that emerge from the intentional theory promote negative connotations about the target subjects, especially those who do not achieve their particular benchmarks such as belief/policy adherence but have a neutral standpoint on the matter.

... everything is in a constant state of flux, of change. We give stability to this constantly changing world through our ability to re-create it by focusing on similarities and ignoring differences. This process is called abstracting. When we abstract, we select the information we will pay attention to while ignoring the rest, focusing on a limited amount of information that we then arrange into recognizable patterns. Abstracting is a continuous process that allows us to give stability to a very unstable world (Lutz, 1996, pp. 57-58).

As well as *crisis*, lexically and negatively connoted items attached to the term *problem* in the light of historical incidents such as *black problem*, *Negro problem* and *Jewish problem*, clearly illustrate the principle of 'two-valued orientation' (Condon, Jr., 1966; Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990; Tada, 1996). Two-valued orientation is conventionally known as the '*disjunctive fallacy* of classical logic' (Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 55) and functions to create non-existing problems using the magical lexical power ascribed to the "penchant to divide the world into two opposing forces – 'right' versus 'wrong', 'good' versus 'evil' – and to ignore or deny the existence of any middle ground" (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990, p. 129). The appearance of those unfounded problems usually disregards the problem of the creators themselves, paraphrasing them, for example, as *White problems*, *Nazi problems* (Margulis, 1975) and the historically infamous *Korean problem* in Japan (Suzuki & Oiwa, 1999). It is also Korzybski's belief that this subconscious *take-it-or-leave-it* tendency, called the 'second law of Aristotelian logic (the law of excluded middle)' (as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 55), mirrors the cornerstone of two-valued orientation.

Two-valued orientation is depicted by showing the presence of the *goodies* and *baddies* cognition (March, 1996; Schandl, 2002). In the Japanese literal sphere, Professor Nobukatsu Fujioka singles out the function of euphemisms in Japan's modern history by introducing phrases used by the popular novelist Ryotaro Shiba's *zendama* (*goodies*) and *akudama* (*baddies*), featured in McCormack (2000, p. 59) as follows:

By affirming the idea of a 'correct history', to be given official status and promotion, Fujioka clearly implies that there is also an 'incorrect history' that should be suppressed. He thereby reinstates the very *zendama-akudama* dualism that he claims to oppose, and he locates himself within the lineage of those guardians of political correctness who know the truth and are intolerant of all else.

This gratuitous *zendama-akudama* viewpoint has the overt intention of diverting attention from the contiguousness of the incidents and is promoting the idea of the reader taking either the overtly or the covertly presented choice. The addressor intends to euphemise the hidden dimension and camouflage the realities, while the contradictory intention, such as a dysphemism, is presented with the author's careful consideration of its function, in which these implementations are in fact casual and common practices in various circumstances. Consequently, euphemisms can mushroom into such propaganda, which attempts to abolish negative denotation and/or channels into the addressor's single-sided viewpoint. This is achieved by utilising powerful lexical influence, such as by exerting pejorative and favourite terms, or by magnifying the nobility of their nationality and detracting from that of their antagonists. Two-valued orientation fundamentally persists in human interaction and can affect the determination of judgemental value and scale. This type of construction easily fails to scrutinise alternatives and is ascribed to this two-valued orientation, which often leads to a single focus.

4.2.4 Cognitive Dissonance

When encountering value-decision making, disturbance caused by plural cognition is common. This cognitive blocking is an inevitable part of the mental process of rationalising one's decision against available dissonant elements. According to Festinger's theory (strongly corroborated by data in various circumstances), when encountering a dissonance, while multiple elements are present in human cognition, peculiar subconscious acts occur such as modification of the original cognition, the reduction of dissonance and the elimination of dissonance (as cited in Anzai, 2001). Corresponding to the second and third elements, which are both categorised as

conceptualisation alteration, rather than *behaviour alteration*, and lead to the rationalisation of the original cognition, Festinger (1957, p. 3) specifically asserts:

1. The existence of dissonance, being psychologically uncomfortable, will motivate the person to try to reduce the dissonance and achieve consonance.
2. When dissonance is present, in addition to trying to reduce it, the person will actively avoid situations and information which would likely increase the dissonance (also cited in Azuma, 2001).

Cognitive dissonance functions as a tool designed to affect the constitution of human conceptualisation that governs judgemental values and decision-making processes. Its practice can be observed when euphemism, particularly doublespeak, occurs, and 'the interpreter works to help us explain away the contradiction between our opposing beliefs, or between our beliefs and actions, without changing our beliefs or our actions' (Lutz, 1996, p. 19).

Almost always, unique interpretations are available in any contexts along with some alternative lexical expressions. In so far as the principle of cognitive dissonance is attached, illogical social theories may be explained in individual logical locution. A contemporary example is when former U.S. President, Bill Clinton, in a worldwide forum, exposed a conspicuous case which featured cognitive dissonance. Clinton recalled his experience of smoking marijuana while studying at a university in England at the time of the Vietnam War. He claimed that he held the joint in his mouth and put a light to it but did not inhale. Another example is his infamous affair with Monica Lewinsky. According to his euphemistic condonation, sexual relations do not include oral sex so that sexual intercourse did not occur between them (Ochiai, 2000). Clinton was able to conduct and carry out his political duties with great aplomb under such devastating psychological trauma due to predominant compartmentalisation (Ochiai, 2000, p. 242), which is a phenomenon of:

The defence mechanism in which particular types of thoughts and feelings that seem to conflict or to be incompatible are isolated from each other in what has been called impermeable psychic compartments. C. involves fragmentation where ideally there might exist toleration of ambiguity and ambivalence. Isolation is a closely related term (Goldenson, 1984, p. 162).

One can maintain concentration inconsistently and interchange proper attitudes, depending on the given situation, while various other annoyance factors interrupt one's duties. Clinton's linguistic and logically mediated behaviour was derived from his predominant intellectual compartmentalisation, and might be categorised as an intensional dissonant cognition. Each one of us possesses a broadly distinguished degree of cognitive dissonance and engages it unconsciously.

In the political arena, cognitive dissonance is often revealed by presenting two overtly paradoxical theories in selected contexts; publicity is then utilised to persuade the public that these theories are the only ones to be considered. Belief is greatly affected by the addressor's (politician's) belief/policy. Devastating examples can be detected in the statement which the U.S. President, George W. Bush, addressed to the public following the U.S. disaster on 11 September 2001. Despite the fact that public opinion was divided on the president's decision, the United States launched an attack against *terrorism*. Bush directed propaganda to world political leaders, aiming to present the *pros* and *cons* from being considered, and to promote his own account of the motives behind the event. He manipulated the cognitive dissonance effect by stating;

Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make: either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. Any nation that continues to harbour or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime ('Taliban Defies Bush', 2001).

This radical single-sided attitude was further reinforced by various euphemistic lexicons such as *the US crisis*, *the war on terror*, and those which focused perceptions in a particular direction, rather than focusing on other subsequent events conducted by the United States and other national military forces. Australia and Japan sent not their military but their *defence force* to what was described as *chiiki funso* (regional trouble, dispute or strife) rather than calling it a war, and described the situation which created the potential to kill other nationalities by the euphemism of *Peace-Keeping Operation*. On the surface, other narrative techniques that glorify the U.S. decision to *attack terrorism* following *September 11* were designed to reduce and/or avoid the dissonant elements of the consequent events, this being an inevitable cognitive process and psychological norm.

4.2.4.1 Belief / Policy Persistence

As described above, bias originates in human conceptualisation, which is inclined to be influenced by presumption or assumption and attempts to justify itself in accordance with one's previous or immediate input and/or experiences when meeting a fresh issue requiring judgement, proposed by others. In the lexical item, bias gains a strong negative connotation and may channel the topic into bitter controversy, so that euphemistic substitution, belief and/or policy can be endorsed. 'The evaluation of an individual ethical and logical sense functions intimately in the process of belief/policy persistence', (Anzai, 2001, p. 76, translated by Hasegawa) as the phenomenon to 'be possessed with an idea'. Analysis and examinations of characteristic features of the human psychological nature have indicated that people are afraid of altering their original beliefs, despite the peril of any conflicting ideas (Anzai, 2001; Johnson, 1994; Masumi-So, 1981; Pajares, 1992; Sato, 2002). Sato (2002, p. 43) quotes Pajares's (1992) analysis, which is based on Rokeach's concept: 'Beliefs differ in intensity and power; beliefs vary along a central-peripheral dimension; and the more central a belief, the more it will resist change' (Pajares, 1992, p. 318). There are wide ranges of different perceptions about what is reasonable, lawful and valid thinking, by which people justify their beliefs. This tendency to persist in certain ways of thinking contributes to the legitimacy of the addressor's statement and judgemental value dimensions and can be applied to the judgemental environment within all genres of human interaction.

We human beings, with our powerful tendency to create and maintain beliefs, readily generate causal explanations of events and actively seek out, recall, and interpret evidence in a manner that sustains our personal beliefs.... [W]e place a disproportionate amount of credibility on evidence that supports an established theory and tend to discredit opposing evidence (Gazzaniga, as cited in Lutz, 1996, pp. 18-19).

A statement is established on the basis that belief/policy persistence will be in agreement between similar entities, and is 'indispensable to communication, with the classifier himself determining which characteristics of similar items he wishes to consider' (Margulis, 1975, pp. 3-4). Not only the purpose of communication, but also how it bolsters up one's ideas, is a reflection of one's customary thinking and previously and newly acquired knowledge and information, and is investigated spontaneously by

employing a full range of the macroscopic, microscopic, and submicroscopic levels of perception (Margulis, 1975). Both acceptable and unacceptable aspects will emerge, reflected by favouritism in various kinds of events, and it is the norm that the former is rewarded and taken into serious account at the expense of the latter, which is classified and left unconsidered. In the words of Sweetser (1987, p. 46, 47), the accepted classifications are derived from "direct experience (especially visual) and culturally accepted ('universal') truths" and the unaccepted process is based on '(nonlogical) deductions'.

Apart from pragmatic and scientific debates, logical theory of belief/policy persistence also develops into ethical issues. At the 1985 U.N. Conference on Women held in Kenya, some representatives sensed that the birth-control programs implemented in developing countries by the United States strove to 'separate man from woman, husband from wife, and mother from child' (Morain, 1986, pp. 29-30). Although this may seem to be an extreme example of the argument about employing lexical power, it represents the principal of belief/policy persistence that originated in the previous acquisition of ideas and the determination to validate and promote them.

Human perceptual persistence can also be monitored as a booster of self-inducement. As Tutolo (1976, p. 64) insists, 'The individual will modify personal attitudes towards the product to conform with the argument presented against the product'. He extends its descriptions to the functional interrelation between human behaviour patterns and linguistic attitudes, and signals the drastic impact revealed by the belief/policy persistence, which shows that attitudes produce human behaviour patterns and that these attitudes are designed as a reflective mechanism of human behaviour (Tutolo, 1976).

4.2.4.2 Prominent Essence of the Bias Composition

Romaine (1994) states that multiplethink constitutes the mental framework for one to capture various fundamental conceptualisations, presumptive frames and unique decoding and "It is not the case that any one particular interpretation is the 'correct' one or corresponds to the 'truth'..." (Romaine, 1994, p. 30). Still, there is a universal

tendency to direct others to focus on the intended and designed direction. Human perception and behaviour is consequently centred on individuals' personal desires and what they value as necessary; thus they will judge each situation by combining the intentional and conscious intuitive orientations, resulting in comparative dimensions, namely bias. These attributes comprise the belief persistence theory, which serves as a central pillar of cognitive consonance, contrasting with dissonant elements.

Inherent bias is manifested by three mainstream contextual factors: 'lack of information, ignorance of modern scholarship, and inadequate space' (Billington, 1966, p. 79). The core of misrepresentation and distortion containing bias is mostly evident through psycholinguistic features such as belief/policy persistence, cognitive dissonance and self-prophecy. Bias is an endowment used to amplify a statement. It is exercised as the formation of inertia, unconscious falsification, omission, linguistic deployment, and cumulative implication and its presence is unapparent in most cases (Billington, 1966). Still there are some exceptions: overt practise of the antithesis of this strategy can contribute to reinforcement of the addressor's intention, which is called 'bias in reverse' (Billington, 1966, pp. 57, 64-66). This strategy demonstrates that using covert but obvious descriptions to glorify the opponent against the information provider in a discussion contributes to the legitimacy of the argument and attracts information receivers as providers of appreciative cognition and views. Within historical materials written by English-speaking authors, descriptions of George Washington have included 'unbeatable', 'perhaps the greatest', and 'father of their nation', and his strategy has been described as a 'masterly retreat across the east river' (Billington, 1966, p. 57, 64, 96). Billington (1966, p. 57) affirms that 'Such exaggeration might create hostile attitudes in the minds of English schoolboys as hostile to the United States as overt bias'.

This exemplary chauvinism can also be detected in Australian and Japanese contexts. No reader escapes the heroic assumptions about the bushranger, Ned Kelly, who is described in heroic terms. Most hearers become doubtful about the Australian perception of this founder of the Kelly Gang who shot three policemen and was hanged in

Melbourne for murdering Mounted Constable, Thomas Lonigan (Geddes, 2001). However, Kelly is regarded as one of the historically well-known heroes in Australia. A similar case in Japanese history is the nation's pre-cognition about General Ieyasu Tokugawa, the founder of the Edo Shogunate period (1603-1867) which was ruled by 14 generations of his descendants, this being the longest period of Japan's history. The prosperous and positive image that was created in this period is a total contrast to the official feudalism and the hierarchical structure of Samurai first, followed by farmers, artisans, merchants, and *eta* (meaning filth or heavily polluted) and *hinin* (vulgar persons/people or non-humans). This structure overruled the merchants for the exploitation of the *Ainu's* (Japanese aboriginal) land and natural resources, as well as enslaving *Ainu* people. Prejudice and obstacle against *Ainu* and other minority groups such as Korean, Chinese and *Burakumin* people fostered by the Tokugawa feudal era has led to bigotry and a problematic social phenomenon even in contemporary Japanese society (Kitaguchi, 1999; Suzuki & Oiwa, 1999).

It is naturally hoped by all information receivers that bias-free information is easy to understand and that the information is free of partiality, personal and deliberately distorted comments. These desires have not been ignored and authors commonly attempt to practise unbiased writing. However, in some cases they cause information receivers to view biased, or author-prejudiced accounts of events. Flagrant *anti-bias* (Billington, 1966) defuses prejudice causing another parade of distortions by those who believe biased accounts, and spread more misinformation.

Several scholars such as Anzai (2001), Billington (1966), and Condon, Jr. (1966) assume that the nature of psychological judgement, with its subtle formulations, stems from extensive partiality (which leans in the addressor's direction) and devious semantic subterfuge. The above sections have demonstrated, on theoretical grounds, cognitive dissonance (specifically when the discussion is constituted by two identical logical values), and scrutinised distinctive elements such as belief persistence and biased precognition, which are both associated with linguistic behaviour and human

perspective. These factors are both rooted deeply in partiality when ascribed to personal, collective and nationalistic preference.

4.3 FACTORS OF CONNOTATIVE AND DENOTATIVE UNIQUENESS

In order to understand this, fundamental contexts should be fully acknowledged here. It can be postulated that the criteria and degrees of logically standardised individual meanings differ from each other. For example, it has been demonstrated clearly that the auxiliary verb *had better* contains more intense intentional sense than *should*. In comparison, the Japanese equivalent translation to *had better* (*shitahoogaii*) is far less excessive than *should* (*subekidearu*). Another example is that the interrelationship between the verbs *take* (*tsureteiku/motteiku*) and *bring* (*mottekuru/tsuretekuru*) and *come* (*kuru*) and *go* (*iku*) can be employed in totally opposite circumstances to each other in Japanese and English. Moreover, a single noun may potentially lead to a dissimilar index. Distinctive examples are: *French kiss* which refers to just a *smack* in Japanese but to *deep kiss* in English, *go Dutch* which does not indicate to *pay your own expense* as in English but to *share* (*warikan*) in Japanese, and Japanese people often prefer, to describe some green objects as blue such as *blue traffic light*, *blue apple*, and *bluish mountain* (*a mountain which is covered with green trees and leaves*) (Tada, 1996).²

One of the key items leading to previously conceptualised knowledge prior to the receipt of necessary information is referred to as *schema* (Kashiwazaki, 2002). If examples such as those shown above relate directly to the schemas, it may cause distortion of the message meaning in a quantitative sense including disregard to formality and politeness

² It should be noted that these examples are purely language expressions and are not connected in any way to Japanese people's genetic conditions such as colour blindness. According to Tada (1996), the Chinese Emperor Han Wudi (156–87 B.C.) decided the original four colours were to blue, red, white, and black. Within this system, each colour symbolised a direction; blue indicated East and red represented South, while white and black portrayed West and North. Yellow representing Emperor Han was situated in the centre of these four colours. In my assumption, some particular expressions associated with the actual colour green but often expressed as blue in Japanese, are the result of the influence of this original four colours concept, which was transferred to Japan accompanied with part of Buddhism and Zen ideology from China.

connotation, which would be prominent in contact situations. Numerous expressions in interlanguage offer a potential for risk-taking connotative meaning in various settings because individual viewers interpret the expressions in unique ways, using intuitively cultivated cognition in association with the unique underlying characteristics of each language (March, 1996; Robinson, 1985; Schalkwijk, Esch, Elsen, & Setz, 2002; Tada, 1996). As Robinson (1985, p. 14) suggests, "Particular languages channel perception or thought in particular ways. Perceived reality is 'relative' to the language of the perceiver".

This is another trigger point to breed euphemistic characteristics in a passage, regardless of the presence of an intention to deceive addressees. In stark contrast to English, Japanese is infamously known as a connotatively obscure language, which was revealed in the words of then Prime Minister Eisaku Sato during his United States visit in 1969, regarding textile imports from Japan. At a meeting, then U.S. President Nixon urged the Japanese to exercise restraint in their exports, to which Sato replied, '*zenshoshimasu*', which, the translator explained, means, *I will do my best*. In the Japanese context, no one would have desired to comment further as Sato actually meant *incompetence*, *impossibility*, or *inability*. Nixon, however, did not interpret the utterance that way, but believed that Sato would begin to impose restrictions on the Japanese textile exports to the United States. There was no altered policy for Japanese textile exports to the United States, except that a stalemate occurred between the two countries regarding the trade concerned (Hasegawa, 2003; Lutz, 1989a; Miller, 1977; Tada, 1996; Wolfson, 1989).

In the example of the discussion between Sato and Nixon, use of different linguistic elements was not the major issue. The problem was the knowledge of individual linguistic and cultural contexts. Equivalent expressions and answers cause irritation to native speakers of English, who are not provided with the knowledge that "'difficult' is merely a Japanese euphemism for 'impossible'". March (1996, p. 35) continues, "Misunderstandings are also likely if a 'think about it' response is taken literally as a promise to consider the matter".

Context becomes the prime influential factor in intercultural communication. All euphemistic expressions are basically selected within a given context: both the world spoken of, and the world spoken in. Without this, misinformation will be transferred easily to the addressees. Moreover it is vital to consider the role of context in all types of social discourse, especially when speakers from different cultural backgrounds interact. If the context is not understood by the individual value system in the target language (or society) and no explanation is offered to adjust the chasm beforehand, communication and euphemistic expressions can be transferred negatively. If the perspective of the context differs between utilisers of the two different languages, focus on the different types of context becomes significant. This is because, even if the perspective of the context is common between utilisers of the two different languages, conflicts may still exist between interlocutors. Thus, euphemism, dysphemism, and doublespeak are not the only issues affecting the selection of various expressions, but should be carefully used, considering the context, and characteristic feature of the language.

These examples remind us of the linguistic indiscretion created by one of the most devastating human errors in history, the decision to drop the atomic bombs on Japan. The Japanese verb *mokusatsusuru* was misused as *ignore* or *reject* in the statement responding to the Potsdam Declaration which demanded an unconditional surrender and was presented to Japan by the Allied Forces in 27 July 1945. As several intellectuals have discussed, if the term *mokusatsusuru* had been substituted as *give it the silent treatment* or *ignore with contempt*, the whole of human history would have been different (Torikai, 2001). This incident displays the vital consequences and peculiarity of literal meanings and contextually scrutinised semantics of expressions, and the nuances derived from them. Heterogeneity of meaning broadens if nationality and cultural and ethnic diversity get involved. In the intense and chaotic political climate which has continued since 11 September 2001, one must keep in mind that ‘... wars have been started due to cultural misunderstandings and miscommunication in the past’ (Schandl, 2002, p. 5).

4.3.1 Code Decipherment

The function as well as the formulation of the code differs between persons, even within similar background groups, and differs even more in interactions held in diverse languages and cultures, due to the fact that ‘... different cultures may well have different categories of texts and different rules about how they operate’ (Goddard, 1998, p. 79). The variation of pejoratives in English contrasts with few counterparts in Japanese, and customary and habitually oriented elements contribute to the progress of phraseological scale and grade and the extent of differences within these, and people’s cognitive formation.³ This is not an uncommon characteristic of any comparison of multiple languages. Identification and comprehension of the code attached by the information is crucial in the process of communication and information exchange, especially when it is practised in contact situations.

Illustration of this type of significance can also be found in silent language. Communication can be exercised not only orally or by inscribing, but mutely and in a non-verbal manner, known as body language or non-verbal communication. Due to the individually cultivated unique code in accordance with the social unit, body language sometimes turns into an influential weapon that creates conflicts between people, and further variance can be generated between communicators from diverse backgrounds. Gestures which are stereotypical and commonly expected to be universally comprehended can mean the total opposite in some cultures. One of the most different gestures, for example, is that shaking one’s head means *Yes* and to downward-nodding implies *No* in Bulgaria (Chino, 1986). In Australia, vituperation by gesturing with fingers obviously requires sensitivity, with consideration to the fact that raising a middle finger indicates emotional rage and/or disagreement in English speaking nations, while presenting a three-fingered sign to a Croatian means a Serbian eliminating a Croatian (Coghlan & Gatt, 2001). Gesturing by fingers is highly sensitive in Japan as well, and profoundly associated with the *Buraku* issues. They are sensitive to some particular but not-widely known sign language, which consists of holding up/down four fingers. This

³ See Chapter 3: 3.2.1.2. for discussion of the contrast of the variation of pejoratives in English and Japanese.

bigoted sign refers to the Japanese numeral 4 (voiced as *yottsu*) and connoting the four legs of *doobutsu* (*animal*) (and its identification of its phonological ending), derived from the Burakumin's involvement in tanning skins from slaughtered animals (Kitaguchi, 1999; Suzuki & Oiwa, 1999). The word *yottsu* is utilised by some children '... simply as a familiar insult on their own friends, not unlike a tendency to use the word bastard in English (*silly bastard etc*)' (Kitaguchi, 1999, p. 28). Regarding those bigoted sign languages, Kitaguchi (1999, p. 28) analyses:

What the user fails to recognize is that such terms set the lowest possible benchmark and clearly imply that not only is a specific action deserving of critical comment on such an occasion, but that all people who 'fit' the original meaning of the word are ipso facto guilty of the same behaviour.

The core of the argument is encoding the concept, whether the message created by the body language is recognised either as a sign or symbol (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990; Rander, 1976). Rander (1976, p. 69) points out that this arbitrarily simultaneous interchange of sign and symbol includes a significantly different nature of representation, in that 'Signs point to something; symbols stand for something. What symbols stand for are often intensely important feelings and values...', warning that 'a basic problem is that the same linguistic expression often simultaneously functions as both sign and symbol' (Rander, 1976, p. 69).

Information derives from differential backgrounds and maintains heterogeneous notions and/or unique interpretations about the possession of the interlocutors' unconventional code, which results in the transformation of a speaker's inaccurate intention. It is, therefore, extremely significant to encode the concept in the reflection to the information provider's background and associated substances, especially in contact situations, where two (or more) languages and cultural diversities exist.

Linguistically motivated segments also depict the salience of decoding the represented substances in intercultural communications held by Japanese and Australians. The term *gaijin* (*foreigners*) in Japanese, does not transfer any sense of ostracism to most Japanese people, and is a commonly utilised lexical term to describe those from

overseas, instead of the presence of the PC term *gaikokujin*. *Gaijin* is considered a pejorative term (Elwood, 2001; Sasaki, 1994; Tada, 1996), but it is broadly utilised by native speakers of Japanese because of its four-moras composition. Japanese people feel comfortable with four-moras words for their stability in rhythm (Honna, 1995), so that most coinages and loanwords, which can also serve as euphemisms, are identified by their four-syllables or four-moras. This natural consequence contributes to its engagement with *gaijin* rather than *gaikokujin*, with no recognition of its presence as a politically incorrect term.

Decoding the implications of native speakers' sense, as demonstrated above, might be a hard task for non-native speakers or those who have not encountered any intercultural contact situations, yet comprehension and presupposition of the unique code will lead to the evasion of mutual misunderstanding and conflict, rooted in cultural differences.

4.3.2 Cognitive Map

An example of the unique cognition derived from individual codes can be illustrated by the process of cognitive map making. In his study, Australian geographer Golledge discovered that judgements of distance made by someone in an urban area differed from those in the suburbs when describing geographical pictures such as locations of buildings and landscapes (as cited in Breen, 1986). When providing directions, for example, verbal explanations are often misinterpreted in terms of distance, scale and so forth, due to conceptualisations established by dissimilar cognitive maps. This indicates that psychologically pre-acquired information, such as individual cognitive maps, affects the formation of basic conceptualisation. Furthermore, the establishment of cognitive maps affects social value judgement and the determination of scale relies heavily on individual perspectives. These findings convey that the correlation between semantics and social contexts involves places, conversational topics and the types of interlocutors.

The individual cognitive map is fully utilised when transferring new information as a verbal map, yet the three characteristics of the map must be maintained. 'First, the map is not the territory but only a representation. Second, no map can represent all aspects of

the territory. And third, every map reflects the mapmaker's point of view' (Lutz, 1996, p. 72). Before a value judgement is made, social rules also play a significant role in cognitive maps. In a sense, we all belong to a unit, which develops further into a group, society, community and nation. Divergent conceptualisations exist within each community, so that one needs to adjust collaboratively according to the social rules, which are *unspoken pre-knowledge*. As an insider, one conventionally does not draw special attention to the rules in the unit for mutual agreement, and every insider is subconsciously aware of the fact that s/he is following the rules. The judgement to determine whether or not a particular form is acceptable is usually unexpressed, except when a rule is broken by outsiders and the existence of the rules becomes explicit. The individual uniqueness is clearly greater between different cultural background interlocutors (Neustupny, 1982; Wolfson, 1989). Between Japanese interlocutors, for example, individual status contains a very significant meaning in terms of communication (Asaoka, 1987) and social status is an indispensable factor in the interaction. Thus, unlike in English, in Japanese one would never call another person by his/her first name or surname without his/her title when meeting for the first time. Moreover, omission of the name is acceptable but replacing a proper noun (especially second person) or 'no-naming' (Brown & Ford, as cited in Wolfson, 1989 p. 82) is not.⁴ This social lexical rule can be applied to the importance of discourse rules in particular contexts as well. Godard (as cited in Wolfson, 1989, p. 95-96) studied the rules of commencing a telephone conversation in terms of one linguistic behaviour, apologising. In the United States a caller may present some kind of apologetic expressions at the beginning of the conversation, especially if it is quite early or late. This type of behaviour is highly expected in all situations in France as well. The pattern of the opening of telephone conversations, which includes self-identification and a request for a particular person, differs broadly between Japanese and Australians. Empirically, the above linguistic patterns seem to be unnecessary in Australian English, yet they are regarded as necessary manners in Japanese. These sets of rules also vary from linguistic to non-linguistic aspects. Non-linguistic aspects are correlated directly with socially

⁴ See Chapter 3: 3.2.1.1 for concrete examples.

recognised polite behaviours and attitudes, and breaking these norms may create a communicative conflict, as sufficient formulaic input is required in contact situations.

Some forms of politeness are linguistic, some purely nonlinguistic, and many mixed; some are polite in some settings, neutral or downright rude in others; some are polite in some societies at one stage of a relationship, but rude in another society at a parallel stage, perhaps polite in the latter society at a different stage (Lakoff, 1975, p. 53).

Cognitive maps and socially constructed rules are similar entities, but contain different roles. Cognitive maps focus on the dimension of individual conceptualisation, whereas social rules function more importantly as the formulae of social interaction. These social rules are acquired mainly throughout school life in Japan, and school life educates Japanese children with socially acceptable formulae for social life (March, 1996). This mirrors many critics' views that Australian children in early childhood are better behaved and mannered than their Japanese counterparts whereas when they enter the school system the Japanese children appear to display less autocratic and selfish attitudes than Australian children (Neustupny, 1987). These entities (cognitive maps and social rules) are associated intimately with each other to produce smooth interactive communication with an accurate verbal map. As Lutz (1996, p. 73) has suggested, '... when we use labels that reflect social agreement we are using our verbal maps accurately'.

4.3.3 High and Low Level Context of Information

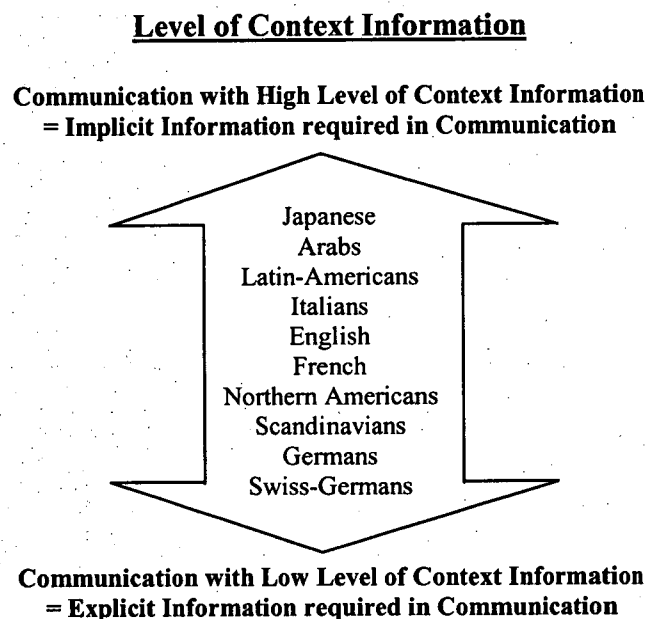
When having a discussion on context, categories and characteristic features should be understood clearly. Context can be defined broadly into two types: high context and low context. High-level context is the situation in which human interaction can be exercised while exchanging less information such as knowledge, concepts and experience between individuals. In other words, interlocutors have already acquired those elements in more detail and are aware of each other's personal attitudes and conceptualisations so that less information needs to be exchanged. On the other hand, human interaction in the low level of context needs more information to be exchanged when interacting due to the shortage of pre-acquired information. This implies that more and accurate information is

required, with precise words/phrases/topic selection in undeviating speech pattern in order to minimise communication failure (Azuma, 1997, also cited in Hasegawa, 2003). Lexically condensed information transfer is infrequently applicable to the Japanese context, which proves that, 'The presence or absence of ... terms has no necessary connection with the presence or absence of the corresponding attitudes' (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990, p. 52). This can be interpreted that the transferring message does not necessarily indicate the quality of the communication, which could be one of the important consequences of collectivism and physical proximity as verbal communication becomes relatively less important in effective human relationships, and nonverbal behaviour potentially more communicative (March, 1996).

The level and degree of *highness* and *lowness* within each context diverge and relate to nationality and/or ethnic group, as demonstrated in Figure 4.1. When considering the interacting procedure created by most native Japanese speakers, Hall (1977) categorised them as high-contextualised communicators, which is supported by the agreement of several scholars such as Azuma (1997), Doi (2001a), March, (1996), Rosch & Segler (1987) and Takata (2002). *Ishin denshin* (*telepathy* or *mental communication*) and *anmoku no ryoukai* (*tacit/implicit understanding*) are expressions which are often introduced unintentionally in Japanese daily life, without connoting some supernatural phenomenon as would be the case in the English language context. Not only some particular lexicons but also linguistic behaviours can be observed differently. An interesting example, as demonstrated by Doi (2001a) (also cited in Azuma, 1997, and Hasegawa, 2003), is presented by the dichotomised contextual modes which occur when a visitor to the home is served a drink in Japanese and English-speaking societies. In the case of a Japanese host (in highly contextual mode with implicit information revealed), s/he would offer a drink after considering the visitors' background information, including their personal preference. It could be a glass of cold juice in summer and hot tea or coffee in winter for consumers who do not require alcohol. In most cases, Japanese people do not prompt the visitor's choice. This may sound contrary to etiquette judged by English speaking communities, whereas it is rather a considerable trait for Japanese people not to seek their visitors' preferences according to their cultural value.

Moreover, if encountering a frequent visitor, to continue raising common questions on every visit could be regarded as inconsiderate behaviour. In countries utilising English as their linguistic medium, nevertheless, it is clear that an offer of a drink without ensuring the visitor's preference would not occur in most cases. In addition, when the visitor prefers tea or coffee, enquiries such as whether they take milk (and in recent years, preference for the type of milk) and sugar (numbers of spoonfuls) are raised, as well as the strength of the drink itself.

Figure 4.1



(Hall's theory, as cited in Rosch & Segler, 1987, p. 60,
also cited in Azuma, 1997, p.175, as well as Hasegawa, 2003, page unknown)

Azuma (1997) (also cited in Hasegawa, 2003) points out the conventions for naming menus at Japanese restaurants and reminds us that the Japanese are high-context communicators. *Omakase ranchi* or *omakase ryouri* (*lit; the choice of lunch/meals is up to you*) which infers that the selection can be decided by a third person. Although the menu does not show exactly what the dishes are, people place an order for them without inquiring. Trusting others without asking for or ensuring details is a feature of Japanese culture that demonstrates that Japanese is a highly contextualised language. It is accurate to suggest that individual divergence among the various categories of nationality,

regionality, sex, age, and social background reveal striking differences (Takata, 2002).⁵ In other words, a classified group within the national culture still contains a wide range of heterogeneity. Nevertheless, ignorance of such implicit national contextual distinctions will cause distortion and result in breakdowns in human interaction.

On the other hand, as Doi (2001a) also confirms, English phrases such as *make yourself at home*, *help yourself* and *come if you want to* are hardly acceptable in Japanese contexts. Hearing such phrases after being catered to carefully in relation to one's precise needs, always leaves Japanese people feeling as if incomplete hospitality has been offered by the host. Inquiry is not the only striking element to differentiate national contextual identities, but addressing personal preference is also an important part of the socio-pragmatic rules of English. Consider a clear example of the rule in English, based on an interaction between a Japanese overseas student in Australia and his Australian flatmate. They had lived together with a harmonious relationship for over a year and the Australian flatmate understood that viewing the news was part of the Japanese student's daily routine, which did not cause any problem with her at all. One day the Japanese student, as usual, sat in front of the TV and was ready for the program, while she kept changing the channels since nothing interested her. In response to his question as to why she did so and did not turn it to the news, she said with an innocent and curious expression, *If you want to watch the news, why don't you say so?* It is sometimes a perplexing task for Japanese, as high-context speakers, to express preferences or wishes because such linguistic behaviour patterns, although expected by low-context nations, strike them as discourteous. Thus, low-context behaviour rules seem to be constituted by either overt demands or a requirement for self-determination, unlike in Japanese culture with high-context rules requiring a 'potential guest be urged to accept an invitation' (Wolfson, 1989, p. 17, also cited in Hasegawa, 2003, p. 3).

Japanese modes of comprehension and cognition seem to be derived from the ideas of Zen Buddhism. These ideas, as March (1996) identifies, are reflected in the acuteness

⁵ As previously explained in Chapter 3: 3.2.2.2.

and sensitivity embodied in Japanese linguistic behaviour and attitudes in contrast to western counterparts.

The emphasis since ancient times has been upon immediate rather than 'mediated' experience. Intellectually verbalized experience, which includes debate, theory, rhetoric, etc., is even today the major example of mediated experience to the Japanese (March, 1996, p. 36).

Integrity of silence, containing '... indirect expressions, in intuitive understanding, the use of euphemisms, nonverbal language, and gestures, and the like, are also regarded by the Japanese as aesthetic acts...' (March, 1996, p. 32). This accountability will also enhance the appropriateness of the assumption that Japanese is a high-context language describing and explaining Japanese indirectness and equivocation, which is germane to the tactic use of segregation: *honne* (real feeling) and *tatemae* (white lie) which is regarded as 'socially sanctioned deceit' (Wolferen, as cited in March, 1996, p. 24), *han* and *mura* structures and consciousness.⁶ They are formed by the distinctive social structures, *tateshakai*, which decrease the significance of the function of socialising in communication and this is regarded as the weakness of the Japanese communication style (Nakane, 1967).⁷

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has scrutinised the concomitants of the psychological mechanism and its process to establish euphemistic expressions, with an aim to detect and analyse the human cognition progress. It has also demonstrated that human cognition trespasses on the rationalisation of the personal expressions, which can potentially divert into dysphemism and doublespeak, from the other side of the interlocutors. This consequence raises some issues for discussion, namely the boundary between correct and incorrect use of euphemism and euphemistically motivated expressions, which will be left for the following chapter.

⁶ See Chapter 3: 3.2.2.2 for details of *han* and *mura* structure.

⁷ See Chapter 3: 3.2.2.3 for details of *tateshakai/yokoshakai*.

CHAPTER 5

STRATEGIES OF EUPHEMISTIC RHETORIC

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Euphemistic locutions are introduced skilfully and very frequently in our society in certain predicaments, engaging with and focusing on some conspicuous elements when manipulation of the information transfer is attempted. From a euphemism user's perspective, creation of semantic vagueness should be embedded carefully along with the employment of the three major techniques: the lexical effectiveness, segment exclusions, and topical inconsistency. If this impression is correct, the use of those semantic rhetorical techniques will enhance the listener's awareness of the addressor's deceiving styles and formulas and vigilance regarding the acquired information. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the predominant and specific rhetorical tricks that addressors tend to use in numerous fields in Australian and Japanese contexts in order to produce the euphemistic vagueness that misleads one's thoughts. The discussion in this chapter will also address mechanisms that can be used to avoid being deceived by euphemisms employed by manufactures to promote positive concepts of their products to encourage the public to hold and/or purchase. As noted previously, some of the techniques demonstrated below can extend through multiple sections and disciplines.

5.2 LEXICAL EFFECTIVENESS

Successful communication can be shaped by segments that transfer the messages clearly between interlocutors. It has been asserted repeatedly that linguistic elements are the main contributors to this and explain the circumstances covering lexical items and their situations. The following section explores the lexical items themselves in the spotlight of weasel words and unfamiliar lexical items and locutions such as loanwords and coinage.

5.2.1 Technique of Weasel Words

High-level abstraction shows that profound lexical items such as *beauty*, *love*, *truth*, *justice* and so forth promote reification (Condon, 1966). These terms are especially notorious and associated extensively in euphemism, specifically dysphemism and doublespeak. The advertising industry may be the most distinctive field in which one can recognise the powerful semantic indicators called *weasel words* (Lutz, 1989a) and discover conventional misleading techniques and manipulative tactics. Weasel words, a term coined from the analogy that ‘... they’re as hollow as any egg sucked by a weasel’, ‘... appear to say one thing when in fact they say the opposite, or nothing at all’ (Lutz, 1989a, p. 85). The most effective and frequently introduced weasel words in present society are *help*, *real*, *healthy*, *pure*, *fast*, *easy*, *essential*, *virtually*, *new*, *improved*, *natural*, *true*, *introducing*, *like*, and countless others. These hedges neither convey any particular lexical meaning nor *help* to make a significant change in the performance of the product. They have simply been employed because, ‘It’s up to the manufacturer to prove that the product has undergone such a change’ (Lutz, 1989a, p. 89). Some people would have encountered the phrase *real sale* (see below) during bargain seasons or a catchy advertisement of a cosmetic product, emphasising the *natural look* whereas nothing could possibly be more natural than not wearing something artificial at all (McLoughlin, 2000, p. 106).

THERE is advertising and then there is advertising. A Sydney grog shop ran a half-page advertisement in one of the metropolitan papers yesterday that was headed: ‘There are sales and then there are REAL sales.’ It then went on to claim it was having a ‘real sale’ in which there was 20 per cent off everything in the store. It emphasised this with a final line in heavy type: ‘And we mean everything.’ Well, yes – except for the tiny, almost unreadable, line across the bottom which added: ‘Does not apply to beer.’ Surely such advertisements should attract the attention of Allan Fels? (McNicoll, 2002, p. 9)

One of the most contemporary and fashionable weasel terms is *premium*, which is likely to be attached to lexical items including *insurance*, *beer*, *wine*, *ham*, *juice*, *smoked salmon*, *cheese*, *petrol*, *car oil*, *nappies*, *bleach*, *vinegar*, *ice cream*, and even *dog/cat food*. Focusing on food, *gourmet* is also considered as a contemporary weasel word. Examples could include *gourmet mince* for cats, *gourmet white vinegar* and *gourmet*

soup, etc. These terms are simply attached as an alternate label for the connotation *better quality* and do not include any specific factors to convert the qualitative meaning into more highly sophisticated products.

It is not a mistake to point out that the food industry is one of the richest resources of weasel words. It is true that many people today are conscious of health and consumption of healthy foods, and so to capitalise on this, ‘... taboo foods high in calories, carbohydrates, cholesterol and other animal fats, sugar, salt, and caffeine, ... are often advertised as having low quantities of these dreadful things’ (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 223). The particular products excluding those ingredients seem to be healthy, whereas products containing ‘... *low fat/cholesterol, lite, diet, added fiber, vitamin enriched*’ (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 223) are only thought to be healthy due to the effectiveness of weasel words. There is, for instance, an anatomy of a description used for ham. Lehrer noted that it contains *only twenty-five calories a slice and 95% fat free*. Even Seltzer water emphasises it contains *0 calories, 0 carbohydrate, 0 fat, and 0 sodium*. On the other hand, vitamins are added, particularly to drinks. High-fibre foods are also perceived to be healthy (as cited in Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 223). Scientific indicators such as calorie and carbohydrate sodium are too technical and hardly recognisable. In other words, terminology itself plays an important role in the function of weasel words. On the other hand, there is also a variety of lexically less complicated terms which contain segments to operate as weasel words. One of the most accessible examples is *sugar free* or *sugarless*. The truth indicated by these terms is that ‘... the food contains no sucrose, which is nothing more than ordinary table sugar. However, the food can contain honey, dextrose (which is corn sugar), fructose (which is fruit sugar), mannose, glucose, sorbitol, or any other of a number of sweeteners that contain just as many calories as sucrose’ (Lutz, 1989a, p. 27). In other words, *sugar free* or *sugarless* means *sugar contained*. Manipulation of the lexical supplantation due to the producers’ deceptive intentions is indeed a common practice in our society.

The above elements are conventional in Japanese contexts as well. For example, particular Japanese lexicons used as weasel words in food advertising are *kire* (*sharp*),

roku (good body, richness), *umami* (essence of the deliciousness), and *fukai ajiwai* (deep taste), etc. How many Japanese people and speakers can describe the exact meaning of those lexicons with very simple phrases? Even if possible, the meanings would be open to individual interpretation. Description of food differs from individual to individual so that food preference depends totally on individual taste. Some advertisements introduce a few renowned and/or well-known people (in most cases they are celebrities, sports athletes, and/or politicians) to promote their products, yet these people who are satisfied (or destined to say they are *satisfied with the food*) are just working for the product company, along with silencing the countless target people. What seems to be certain is that these terms provide a strong impression that the products are of high quality, but based on the criteria which the producers and advertisers designed autocratically.

It is not difficult to discover adapted versions of common phrases to connote high quality. Examples in Japanese cases could include *ganso* (original), and/or *dentoo no aji* (unchanged traditional taste). The meaning of these phrases is more clearly interpretable than the demonstrations illustrated previously, whereas the value of the phrases is still deceiving. If one were to look beyond the image of the food created by these particular phrases, the taste itself would not attract many. This is because taste preferences these days differ from those of previous generations, and in particular are manipulated by various new and artificial ingredients including chemical products. This is also nothing but fancy signage attempting to raise the value and price through using the weasel words, *ganso* and/or *dentoo no aji*, which do not literally indicate that the taste has remained unchanged over the last century.

5.2.2 Unfamiliar Lexical Items and Locutions

We are often inclined to accept the information given by the denotatively represented message and fail to see the connotative information. Familiarity with the lexical items and expressions does not necessarily indicate clear comprehension of the meaning of the statement. The prevalence of this deceitful practice has reduced hostile attitudes towards the kinds of persuasive statements that can swiftly invade our conceptualisation. Euphemistic techniques that are organised meticulously for the purpose of establishing

the addressors' credibility by utilising common lexicons were described in the above section.

The use of overtly ambiguous lexicons, however, has also been perfected in euphemistic spheres. When meeting with some unfamiliar lexical items and/or unclear gobbledygook, we tend to overlook them or accept them with silence and allow our subconscious to hide our initial delusion or lack of clarity. The use of these words derives from the speakers' familiarity and breadth of linguistic knowledge in particular areas along with their reluctance to engage with a level of talk that appears on the surface to be simple but which, in fact, requires technically complicated explanations or peculiar terminologies and names which can possibly describe the entity.

5.2.2.1 Loanwords

It is obvious to note that euphemism has come to be established in human social interaction as norm language. An analysis of norm language use will indicate the distinctive influence of doublespeak. It is a fact that no language comes from nowhere and all languages are associated with or affected by each other. The case of French loanwords in English is no exception. The influx of French dictions into English originated when the Normans invaded and conquered England in 1066. For the next three centuries, people in England used English, while aristocracy engaged with French and formal documents were prescribed in Latin. This linguistic formation reflects the society at that time, especially on aliment. English farmers brought up pigs, cows and ox but when they were cooked and served for French nobles, the names were rendered into French words *porc* (*pork*) and *boeuf* (*beef*) (Kanaya, 1998). Similarity can be observed in the Japanese context as well. The past Japanese trend of eating a diet mainly consisting of fish, grains and vegetables was brought about by two factors. The first was the restricted inhabitable land, which was only 32.2% of the nation, compared with 66.1% which was wilderness including mountains, forests, and hills (the Bureau of Statistics of the Management and Coordination Agency in 1996, as cited in Sugimoto, 1997, p. 53, 77). The second factor concerns itself with Buddhist morality, which transferred into Japan in 538 A.D. and regards beasts as being filthy and impure to

consume. In terms of the latter, the beasts, however, were consumed after adopting new names; *wild pig* was renamed *yamakujira* (*mountain whale*) and *horse, sakura* (*cherry blossom*) in the period from the end of the Edo era (1603-1867) to the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1911) (Komatsu, 2002, p. 197). Although there are no peculiar lexical items created by the Japanese linguistic style for pigs, cows and ox, and birds in present days, those which indicate original names or extensive loanwords: *pooku*, *biifu*, and *chikin* have been applied euphemistically in present society.

The above is a simple example to show that innumerable terms originating in various languages have been adapted firmly by other languages, and this illustrates the modification of the individual conceptualisation towards each language use. These tendencies towards adopting from another language did not occur suddenly, but English itself is the language that originally contained a large number of Latin and Greek terms. Orwell (1970) compares the translation of a passage of 'good English' and 'modern English of the worst-sort', and points out the problem that Latin and Greek-originated dictions contribute to the ambiguity of modern English.

The first contains forty-nine words but only sixty syllables, and all its words are those of everyday life. The second contains thirty-eight words of ninety syllables: eighteen of its words are from Latin roots, and one from Greek. The first sentence contains six vivid images, and only one phrase ('time and chance') that could be called vague. The second contains not a single fresh, arresting phrase, and in spite of its ninety syllables it gives only a shortened version of the meaning contained in the first (Orwell, 1970, p. 163).

Orwell's (1970, p. 163) remark, 'The whole tendency of modern prose is away from concreteness' is not only a description regarding English but also Japanese language as well. As for Japanese language, *loanwords* (*foreign originated words*) do have a conspicuous role. Honna (1995, p. 45) illustrates this;

Fact 1 is that foreign words, mostly English, constitute 10% of the lexicon of a standard Japanese dictionary. Fact 2 is that 13% of the words ordinary people use in daily conversations are foreign words. Fact 3 is that 60% - 70% of new words in the annually revised dictionaries of neologisms are from English.

The loanwords in Japanese are categorised by seven different segments: (1) Shift or narrowing of meaning, (2) Japanese-English so called *Japlish* (precisely speaking,

English-Japanese), (3) Abbreviation of all syllables after the first two, three, or four, (4) Acronyms, (5) Abbreviations of compounds, (6) Combination of English loans and Japanese lexicon, and (7) Development of 6, which is an expression linked up the two (or more) English and Japanese words for the purpose of word play (Honna, 1995, pp. 47-52).

Kanaya (1998, p. 21) shows another interesting piece of evidence of the association between Japanese language and its loanwords.

According to the study, using 60 different kinds of magazines which contain about 410,000 words, conducted in 1962 by the National Language Research Centre in Japan, Japanese contains 37% of Japanese originated words called *wago* or *yamatokotoba*, 47% of Chinese originated words, *kango*, 10% of European originated words *katakanago* with the remaining 6% being unsure. Besides, no matter how frequently words are used, even only once and more than once is also counted as one word (translated by Hasegawa).

The above indicates that the Japanese language itself, like most languages, contains loanwords, many of which originated from English. This is due to the fact that English-conformist ideology predominates as the most powerful and influential language in the world, which results in the figurative ladder that suggests loanwords connote more sophistication and in-vogue-ness than *kango*, which contains higher cultural imagination than *wago*. An intriguing aspect is observation of the subconscious usage of loanwords in the speech of native speakers of Japanese. For example, *torikeshi* as *wago*, *kaiyaku* as *kango* and *kyanseru* as a *loanword* in Japanese are all equivalents of *cancellation* in English. No one, however, would use *kaiyaku* for the cancellation of a previously booked aeroplane ticket, just as *kyanseru* is inappropriate. Instead, *kaiyaku* is the term selected, for example, when cancelling the application of a flat or a room after paying the deposit and service fee to the real estate agent. Each one of these lexicons is selected subconsciously with no logical implications for the contexts, and this practice is exercised in reality, contributing to Japanese language learners' quandaries (Sasaki, 1994).

Miller's (1977, p. 20) statement, 'No language comes from nowhere' can be interpreted as no language is unaffected by social and historical contexts, and the use of loanwords

will continue in the future as long as they are ‘... to give an air of culture and elegance’ (Orwell, 1970, p. 160). Loanwords do create sophistication in Japanese so they are never to be considered as inferior despite their complicated terminology and expressions. The majority of native speakers of Japanese cannot comprehend their semantic structure. In other words, if the term is well known but not understood, it is not easy to discuss the issue. Therefore one is apt to overlook the semantics of loanwords intended to create positive connotations. Skilful manipulation of loanwords is, therefore, a useful technique to breed additional lexicons and deceive people, albeit difficult for people to break their ingrained linguistic habits.

5.2.2.2 Coinage

Loanwords, in one sense, can be considered as a type of coinage. Together with loanwords, coinage also demonstrates sophistication, which carries great linguistic attractiveness. Unrestrainedly and willingly produced coinage has flourished and been used flexibly, and has served as one of the most distinctive vehicles of semantic mystification. Thus exploitation and conveyance of coinage have been common features of our linguistic pattern, but are nevertheless often overlooked.

The orientation of coinage is divided into two spheres: (1) newly invented lexicons and (2) re-invention of the meaning of pre-existing lexicons. Sphere (1) contains contemporary examples such as the euphemistic term *pleather* (*plastic + leather*), which means an imitation and/or artificially manufactured leather-like texture. Moreover, invention of a lexical item can be as a result of a new societal requirement. Thus, the establishment of new organisations such as the *EU* (*European Union*), created the need to contrive various appropriate new dictions: *Euroter* (*Tourism in Rural Europe*), *Eurad* (*Europe Against Drugs*), *Eurofedrops* (*European Federation of Employees in Public Services*) and *Eurotalent* (*European Committee for the Education of Children and Adolescents who are Intellectually Advanced*) (Thiessen, 2002, p. 9). There are a number of Japanese counterparts that, strictly speaking, ‘compromise form’ (Clyne, 1991, p. 174), which means they integrate the original form and that of the other language. Consider *wakamonogo* or *wakamonokotoba* (*lit., young people’s language*). That is the

language used by those who are approximately 13 to 30 years of age. They use it within their group with the idea of playful and non-restricted language use, in order to enhance their conversation (Yonekawa, 1996). Its characteristics are the presence of a large number of lexicons motivated by onomatopoeias, such as *kyankyan* (sound of a dog whining, meaning *surrender*), *uniuni* (description of messy situation, which comes from sea urchin *uni* in Japanese), *shikkushikku* (combination of another onomatopoeia of crying voice and English lexicon *sick* uttered in Japanese-like accent), and *oioi* which is an interjection used when pinpointing an un-naturalness and/or comical point in another's talk. Most of these reduplicated lexical items are composed of four moras in Japanese, containing one sound which is placed in the first and third position, and another in the second and fourth position. The second most common items are derived from a set of six moras, including a same sound of pairs in the first and third, second and fourth, and third and sixth position. A total of total 90% of all coinages in Japanese are from these types (Yonekawa, 1998).

One of the most distinguished examples falling into category (2) in English is the infamous doublespeak lexicon *peacekeeper* coined by the former U.S. President, Ronald Reagan in 1982. In this instance, Reagan euphemised the MX missile as *peacekeeper* despite the fact that the missile was obviously constructed to threaten peace (Lutz, 1989a; LaRocque, 1998). Focusing more on contemporary Australian English use, especially synonyms, it becomes apparent that *filthy* is likely to replace *cool* among youngsters. The term *bugger* has already won stable recognition as an exclamatory interjection rather than being an expletive.

The prevalence of re-invented lexicon is also common in the Japanese context. The original meaning of *enjyokoosai* is a consistent relationship between a pair residing apart over a geographically long distance. However, the recent coinage *enjyokoosai* (*lit; compensated dating* - a substitution for *prostitution*) (Yonekawa, 1998) describes a serious problem which evolved because of Japan's materialistic tendencies and indulgences, and/or stress derived from extreme pressures and highly competitive

attitudes in terms of academic achievements.¹ These implications reveal that the motivations underlying the prevailing coinages are reflections of contemporary social phenomena, and sometimes transformed into phrases in vogue as lexical currency.

Various examples can be interchanged between the above categories and can cover a range of interdisciplinary spheres. The development of newly invented lexicons is often related closely to social trends and demands, where the absence of existing lexicons to indicate objects and/or users' and creators' intentions leads to the social tendency to engage with newly fabricated lexicons and the invention of semantic rhetoric.

5.2.2.3 Shortened Forms

It is clearly fair to say that shortened lexicons play a prominent role in creating ambiguous locution in information transformation. Fundamental shortening techniques begin with lexicons created by clipping. These appear in daily language use, for example: *gee* or *geez* for *Jesus*, *uni* for *university*, and *barbie* for *barbeque*. Clipping is often detected in Japanese as well, such as *basuke* (*basketball*), *puro* (*profession/al*), *konbi* (*combination*) etc. The element of clipping can be applied to another category called acronym and abbreviation.² The shortened forms of the lexical items and phrases have all become indispensable as part of the standardised linguistic currency in society, and are employed without people's awareness.

Some English acronyms and abbreviations are used without changes in the Japanese context but pronounced in a Japanese accent. For example, *NATO* is pronounced as *natoo*, *UNESCO* is *yunesuko* and *VIP* as *bui ai pii*. They are regarded as *loanwords*, terms based on or coined by foreign languages, Japanese and/or combination of foreign languages and Japanese. The main foreign language from which Japanese has drawn loanwords is English. This is not surprising given that English is the most widely applied language in the world: '... as a conservative estimate, there are approximately 570 million people in the world today who have a native or near native-like command of

¹ These two different terms *enjoyokoosai* are pronounced same but written down in different *kanji* characters.

² For more details, refer to the clarification in Chapter 2: 2.6.2.3.

English' (McKay, 2000, p. 7). The application of loanwords enhances the fineness and gracefulness of the lexicon, but can result in ambiguity of the context. If this hypothesis is correct, reduction of loanwords might lead to a decrease of the effectiveness of doublespeak.

5.3 TECHNIQUE OF EUPHEMISTIC ELLIPSIS

When observing vagueness in some discussions, three ramifications: salient segment exclusions, topic inconsistency and utilisation of unfamiliar lexical items and locutions can be seen as distinctive misleading techniques. Our fundamental habit in semantics is to watch the subject with a label while ignoring the one without (Condon, 1966) This fashion indicates that one tends to pay heed to extrinsically transferable information and fails to see those unrepresented underneath.³ In discussing disclosure of each of the euphemistic techniques, the following sections will consider the central sphere of the omission such as classification of euphemistic omission, comparison to unspecified entities and background information deficiency.

5.3.1 Principle of Omissions

According to Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 17), two types of omissions, called quasi-omissions and full-omissions, are directly interrelated with the euphemism functions.

There are quasi-omissions which substitute some nonlexical expression for the dispreferred term. For example, Grose (1811) contains the following: Not so my lord, replied she; for an artichoke has a bottom, but a **** and a cauliflower have none.

This, together with the appearance of **** in other entries, leaves no doubt that Grose uses four asterisks as a synonym for what he otherwise calls 'the monosyllable'.... The spoken counterparts to dashes and asterisks are things like *mhm*, *er-mm*, and so on.... Full-omissions seem less common than quasi-omissions, but there is *There's the pot calling the kettle black* which omits *arse* from the end (cf. Grose 1811). Also *I need to go*, from which is omitted *to the lavatory*.

³ This notion has been explained extensively in Chapter 3: 3.4 in connection with denotation and connotation.

It is understandable if such terms cannot be utilised for the reason of political correctness (PC) and censorship. As Cooper (1993) notes, 'In some cases the vulgar part of the taboo phrases is suppressed entirely, as for instance in the abusive English use of (you) mother (= *mother-fucker*)' (Cooper, 1993, p. 75). Nevertheless, clipping and omissions are indeed practised as a fundamental part of the euphemism technique, which can be seen in advertisement. Along with some pragmatic examples, simplification of complex grammatical structures leading to the crucial information deficiency will be prescribed in the following sections.

5.3.2 Comparison to Unspecified Entities

Consider these endorsements for the products: *Maintenance Free with AG9 A No1 for Longer Life* (Exide car battery) and *Every Domino's store now delivers pizza 20% hotter thanks to our revolutionary new delivery system, HOTCELL...* (Domino Pizza). Captivating and attractive phraseologies are prevailing in the sphere of commercial industry but frequent elimination of the 'comparative references' (Goddard, 1998, p. 104) is one of the most classic cases of euphemism attached to these manipulations. Comparative forms of various weasel words are linked with this rhetoric, with the vital point being that the product reflects the targeted culture and the tastes of the time (Goddard, 1998).

Some might make an argument against the above perception because of the supplemental indication identified in the phrases about several products. As an illustration, an appealing phrase for a brand of butter called *Weight Watchers: 35% less fat* is cited here:

Weight Watchers spread contains only 2.5% fat per teaspoon which is 35% less fat than *standard* non-whipped margarine and butter.

(Italicised by Hasegawa)

Although this statement endeavours to make a comparison to an unspecified entity which is mentioned after the *35% less fat*, the clear explanation fails due to the non-existence of any comparison or contrast with particular homogeneous brands and also because it neglects to mention any medically advocated standard daily intake of fat

against which the *Weight Watchers* brand could be compared. Instead, a generally interpretable meaning is to be elicited from the use of the term, *standard*.⁴

What seems to be certain is that this postulation can be applied to both Australian and Japanese contexts. As a result, both nations have paid more attention to the cheaper products with no brand, which claim lower cost, and this concept has done little to change individuals' minds and hence needs more time to be established. It should be noted that not only the products but also the wholesalers have applied the strategy of comparison to unspecified entities. One supermarket in Australia, expresses its catch phrase: *You cannot get fresher than that*. The term *fresher* is the comparative, yet the subject of these phrases is not the product itself but *You* (information receiver), which automatically leads to the unspecified indicator of the superiority. Certainly no one makes any complaints about this advertisement in terms of the degree of freshness of the products compared with others because some groceries are less fresh than others at some other shops, but the peculiarity of those retailers remains anonymous. The phrase of this campaign is also coined on the basis of the ascription of particular types of products. "Unfinished words are a kind of 'up to' claiming in advertising" (Lutz, 1989a, p. 95). Lutz (1989a, p. 95) continues that they entirely '... depend on you to finish them, to provide the words the advertisers so thoughtfully left out of the ad'. The whole of society seems to be deeply accustomed to and habituated with this fashion so that this dishonest practice should be pointed out to them.

The deciding factor for a linguistic substitution is how effectively euphemisms can be presented to audiences. If a central issue already attracts positive audience response, there is no need for euphemism to be inserted. However, vice versa, the impact of effective euphemism would increase. The comparative degrees such as *cheaper*, *pay less*, *more value*, excluding the accompanied objectives, are the most distinctive characteristics which can be identified within the same types of products. They are referred to as *parity products* such as petrol, cigarettes, toothpaste, soap, aspirin, cold medicine, cosmetics, deodorants, cereals, liquor, and so forth. 'Parity products are

⁴ For more details, refer to Chapter 8: 8.3.3.1.

simply products in which most if not all the brands in a class or category are pretty much the same' (Lutz, 1989a, p. 83). Thus, all products above are equal and produced from the same or very nearly identical sources so that no one particular brand of the product can be conspicuously prominent compared to the others. In other words, they are either *good* or *best* but are never called *better* products (Norris, 1974). The following statement identifies the essential discrepancy between these products.

... you can advertise your ... parity product as the 'best' and not have to prove your claim. However, if you claim your parity product is 'better' than another parity product, you have to prove your claim because 'better' is comparative and a claim of superiority, and only one product can be 'better' than the others in a parity class. ... In the world of advertising doublespeak, 'better' means 'best', but 'best' means only 'equal to' (Lutz, 1989a, p. 84).

The above examples illustrate the great magnitude of impressions that can be created by the rhetoric applied in slogans that make comparisons in the advertising field. However, the truth is that our daily interactions promote similarities to the above-mentioned peculiar periphrases. Let us peruse the hackneyed banalities such as *We are more than happy to be at your service*, *Your comments would be more than welcome*, and *We would be more than willing to help*. Thus, subconscious implications to enhance the intention of the message producers serve a wide range of euphemisms emerging in relatively simple and daily experiences.

5.3.3 Insufficient Background Information

Insufficiency supportive information usually causes misinformation and misinterpretation and leads to the breakdown of the relationship between interlocutors. Deliberate engagement of this is also referred to as doublespeak. Premeditated background information deficiency is brought about by the addressors' artistry, and can be divided into two types: lexical information deficiency and narrative information deficiency. The following section will discuss these domains in more detail.

5.3.3.1 Lexical Information Deficiency

It is typical for numbers of products to be advertised with legions of euphemistic locutions, thus removing substantiality for accurate information exchange. This insufficiency can be universally and extensively viewed in the sphere of advertisement. Consider, for example, *The dentists' choice* (Toothpaste produced by *Colgate*), corresponding to *Haishasan ga kangaeta haburashi* (the toothbrush which the dentist invented, in the advertisement of *Reach* toothbrush in Japan). Undoubtedly, many advertisements employ euphemistic phrases such as *the experts select this* or *the critics recommend that*. The dilemma arising here is that it is impossible to identify the concrete background information of these experts (or critics involved in the research); their occupation, relevancy and familiarity with the target issue. The problem also lies with the reliability of the research itself; the numbers and backgrounds of target participants, method, time, and place. No-identification creates a no-problem and no-enemy environment, which is the conventional strategy to utilise euphemisms and lead people's interpretations by positive connotation.

This illustration may force some readers to consider other types of cases where consumers are misled by rhetoric with insufficient information. Less informative but familiar discourses often yield to the trends of national propaganda and campaigns to protect the nation's products. Well-known Japanese brand names of automobiles and electrical alliances on a worldwide scale transmit the belief to consumers in Japan that they are made in Japan, although details of the manufacture such as designing and assembling are carried out in other nations - which is not revealed in most cases.

Contrasting to this inclination of Japanese consumers, Australian consumers appear to be fairly familiar with this brand name strategy. Although it cannot be compared with its Japanese counterparts, in Australia there are numbers of goods and products imported from Asian neighbours that lead to the great availability of various brand names in shops. This circumstance, however, results in a dilemma: consumers in Australian often overlook attractive equivocators such as *Australian Owned* or *Australian Made* which use propaganda to influence consumers' purchasing behaviour to help the promotion of

Australian products against the presence of multiple overseas productions in the hope of supporting Australian labours and their employment. Thus, the product label which contains the prescription of *Australian Owned* implies that it is an Australian product made by Australian ingredients. Consider the juices attached with a label prescribed *Australian Owned* including those manufactured by the three Australian companies, *Valencio*, *P&N* and *BERRI*. Diagnosing the back label, which shows the implication of this catchy phrase, it can be easily identified as misleading.

Packed in Australia from imported and Australian juices.

(Orange juice produced by *BERRI*)

A BLEND OF AUSTRALIAN & IMPORTED JUICES.

(Apple Blackcurrant juice produced by *P&N*)

Valencio is manufactured in Australia from imported and Australian fruit juices.
Valencio is proudly owned by an Australian company.

(Orange juice produced by *Valencio*)

These are typical examples of the deception caused by the insufficiency of diction. In the above, the term *company* is deleted from *Australian Owned* so that purchasing the item does not support Australian products made from Australian ingredients but rather the particular Australian company that sells the goods and products by using the phrase.

5.3.3.2 Narrative Information Deficiency

Elimination of the phrases and clauses from the prescription is utilised to cause semantic distortion. Also, because of the deletion of the informative passages, the gist of the message is semantically distorted. To the average Japanese *kigyousenshi* (lit., *company soldier*, euphemism for *salaryman*), owning a house is an almost unattainable dream at present. As can be imagined, if the house is located closer to the metropolitan area, the possibility of the dream coming true will decrease, as more expenditure is required. The phrase below, for example, describes the effectiveness of the use of information insufficiency. *To the centre of Tokyo, it takes you only 35 minutes by train*. This may be specific enough to describe the general commuting time to reach the occupational destination and indicate its great convenience and ideal location for residential purposes. Nevertheless, it neither demonstrates the commuting time required to reach the nearest

train station nor the frequency of the train departures. There should be a reminder that other transportation might be required to get to the station. Types of transportation such as local trains, buses, automobiles, motorbikes and bicycles may be needed, and moreover, the possibility of the use of more than one of these vehicles should also be kept in mind. If it is a train and/or bus, waiting time for them should be carefully considered as well. Presuming these hidden aspects, finding out the whole commuting time to be spent every morning from the original location will provide a disappointment rather than a pleasure. In addition, even if all elements above were understood, it should be worth taking into account the possibility of obtaining an available seat in those vehicles due to the overcrowding in the morning peak hours and after hours for lucky *off-hours work* (euphemism for *over-time work*) requirements. After considering the consequences of these omitted statements, the estimated daily travelling time consumption would rise to approximately three hours in Tokyo areas (Neustupny, 1987).

5.3.4 Downsizing and Webster's Law

Manipulation of euphemism can stimulate consumers' economic purpose. *Family size*, *new size*, *value pack* or *party size* are also labels to indicate a larger-than-standard size to suggest that a smaller quantity or standard size is not as economically attractive.

A similar strategy linked with the product's quantitative indication is downsizing, which is also shaped by a lack of background information. Consumers are in most cases unlikely to heed this point, so that it could be a damaging hoax to the producer if it were to be detected. Australian beer *Foster's* illustrates a captivating combination of manipulative phrases such as *new size* and *new package* which in this case refers to its newly shaped taller bottle and redesigned label. The quantity of a *Foster's* stubby had fallen from 375ml to 355ml and its label shows terms such as *export quality* and *Australia's classic lager since 1888*. The report of Chulov (2001) reveals that this phenomenon is described as *Webster's law* by marketers. Geoffrey Annison, the scientific director of the Australian Food and Grocery Council, singles out that '... there are three reasons for companies to change the volume of their products: changing demands from shifting demographics; seeking product harmony with world markets; or

economic pressures' (as cited in Chulov, 2001, p. 30). He continues that the concept of Webster's law '... applies when companies facing increasing product costs reduce volume to maintain profitability.' It is not illegal for manufactures to do this as far as the display of the accurate weight of the product on packages is present, but they do not inform consumers about the change itself. "*New improved!*" is rarely for the benefit of consumers" (Chulov, 2001, p. 30).

In the United States, where the *Webster's law* has been a familiar practice over history, some producers endeavour to rationalise this phenomenon. Gerber Products Co. explains the logic underlying its use:

We did consumer research and found that the majority of mums preferred the 4-ounce size... That's because we recommend that the food be consumed within two days after opening. There's less waste with the new packaging. A spokeswoman for Ragu said the amount of sauce had been decreased but the new jar 'is fairly labelled and priced' (as cited in Dagnoli, 1991, p. 48).

Still, some might take serious offence at these remarks and reply in a legal manner. In the case of the United States in past, Robert Abrams, General Attorney, addressed his proposal to the New York state registration, that producers should be required to provide products with labels which reveal the lexical items: *reduced*, *decreased* or *less* for six months minimum periods. He believes that downsizing is misleading since '... consumers who are in the habit of buying a particular product size generally don't scrutinize the net weight label on subsequent purchases' (as cited in Dagnoli, 1991, p. 48).

Constantly, doublespeak can be utilised extensively in order to justify this action as non-downsizing. A spokeswoman of Hershey Foods Corp informed the public that 'The net weight has gone down but the volume remains the same because the product is less dense than it was before'. On the other hand, the Grocery Manufacturers of America, which is a trade group whose members produce 85% of all packaged foods sold in the United States, clearly admitted the action of downsizing, commenting that 'the choice is either to increase the retail price or reduce the content' in response to the increased costs

and consumer demand, to defend it as an essential marketing strategy (as both statements cited in Dagnoli, 1991, p. 48)

Practice of doublespeak for downsized products refers to the fact that verbatim information does not necessarily transfer the producer's intention hidden behind the label: to gain more financial benefit without charging consumers more. 'Understanding doublespeak and becoming a good reader, and a good detector of doublespeak, means a lot more than knowing the meaning of words' (Lutz, 1996, p. 140).

The number of conflicts in contact situations from non-native speakers of Japanese and English basically derives from this omission category. Omissions stem from the differences between high and low-context nationalities rather than the variations of linguistics and their structures.⁵ Contact situations often create the strange phenomenon that fluent and accurate target language use somehow tends to imply the language users' high conversance with the language's mechanisms, patterns and its hidden dimensions in the society so that native speakers' have higher expectations of the language use of non-native speakers.

5.4 TOPICAL INCONSISTENCY

Insufficiency or vagueness of given information can also cause misunderstandings between interlocutors, and can become greater in contact situations. This strategy is to appear be talking about the same subject as the addressee, but the points they are talking about are actually different. Unlike the above sections which focused primarily on the ambiguity created by intentional linguistic deletion, this section considers the familiar but uncomprehended semantic practice brought about by setting up the participants to talk at crossed purposes about the same subject. In this section, critical analysis of the affairs in Japanese and Australian contexts will validate that inconsistencies of topic can contribute to contorted locutions.

⁵ See Chapter 3: 3.4.3.

5.4.1 Incompatible Semantic Environment

Intractable formula and mechanisms constitute the various meanings in the language transferred through human interactions. The messages embedded in one situation and context may differ, to some extent, from the ones in other situations and contexts. The context and the situation where the linguistic messages are located are related closely with each other and are certainly decisive factors in determining the meaning as it is comprehended by the information receivers. This environmental chain which represents semantic determinism is called semantic environment (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990; Lutz, 1996). Standing in the identical semantic environment becomes a vital element in human communication, especially when the interlocutors have some asymmetrical argument.

5.4.1.1 Morality versus Essentiality

Controversial issues which do not have immediately-obvious logical and pragmatic solutions stem, in most cases, from the semantic environment. For example, Japan discontinued its free *commercial whaling* since it accepted a proposal from the International Whaling Commission (IWC) commercial whaling moratorium in 1986, but then re-commenced in 1997 justified by what it is euphemised as *scientific research*. The main point here can be divided into two points of view, conservational and ethical. In terms of the former point of view, the number of whales caught is regarded as the yardstick in order to preserve the total world-wide whale population. For this argument, statistical evidence notes that notable whales such as the True Blue and the Minke are not in danger of immediate extinction under the IWC's control, but some others, the Blue and the Northern Right, are, while the Bowhead, Southern Right, Sei, Fin and Humpback may fall into the category of endangered species (Reuters News, 2001). Strictly speaking, '... numbers of humpback whales on the east coast of Australia are increasing by more than 10 percent each year' continues Michael Bryden, a university of Sydney professor of veterinary anatomy, 'but the estimated total of 4400 is still far below the pre-World War II estimate of 20,000' (as cited in Brook, 2001, p. 21). If this is correct, Japan will be allowed to begin its commercial whaling one day in the future,

while limited to the True Blue and the Minke. In response to this pragmatic maintenance, ethical judgements about cruelty to whales have been weighted on the side of the anti-whaling nations. All types of whales have currently been recognised as endangered species, as well as recognition of the fact that they are the largest mammals, indeed the largest creatures on the earth, living regally in the sea. Consequently, with some backup from the increasing popularity of ecotourism worldwide, especially in Australia, whales have become an icon of the heavily invested cultural significance of mysterious and wondrous nature, so that killing those remains nothing but a horrifying image (Alford, 2004).⁶ Michael Noad, a scientist at the University of Sydney comments, 'People are really grasping hold of them almost as a symbol of hope for the future and that's why it's a strong culture symbol for us' (as cited in Brook, 2001, p. 21). This Australian culture to oppose whaling has emerged strongly since the end of its long history of this industry, that is since the Cheynes Beach Whaling Company in Albany, Western Australia was closed in 1978. Prior to that, whaling was Australia's '... first big primary industry and in the early 19th century the whaling port of Hobart became one of the most important cities in the southern hemisphere' (Brook, 2001, p. 21).

On one hand, the above discussion is reminiscent of the fact that 'the whaling issue refers to the economic conflict between countries, and is fundamentally not a cultural conflict' (Sugimoto, 1996, p. 42, translated by Hasegawa). On the other hand, as Bryden comments, it is a concern of '... not conservation but ethics' (Brook, 2001, p. 21), which highlights the crucial point. The ultimate aim should be the establishment of a certain kind of regulation in order to retain both enough whales for future generations and for Japan's cultural and traditional consumption habits. Consequently, the discussion proceeds with frequent confirmations that conservation and ethics should be considered separately, considering the inclination of Japanese to treat this issue sentimentally and their lack of strategy in logical argument in matters pertaining to tradition, which westerners have generally developed more effectively (Hayashi, 1988; March, 1996). In order to achieve this, informative and trustworthy statistical indications and references

⁶ According to Brook (2001), each appearance of a Humpback whale brings A\$100,000 into their ecotourism industry revenues in Hervey Bay, Queensland, Australia.

produced by DNA science inquiry to examine the whales' 'breeding and migration patterns' (Clerk, 2001) should be in demand. In addition, this should also be organised not only by a few Japanese scientists but by more representative scientists from nations in IWC as well as Iceland, the Philippines and Indonesia, which are whaling for commercial purposes. Without undertaking these trials and ventures, argument on this matter will continue under the incompatible semantic environment and will lead to other irrelevant comments such as Tsutomu Takebe's account of the whales' over-consumption of fish which is over 'three to five times the maritime resources (that humans do), or in terms of fish, 300 million to 450 million tonnes of fish', while at the same time '... there are 800 million human beings who are under nourished' (Reuters, 2002, p. 11). His assertion can be interpreted to suggest that whaling is inevitable in order to save these people in their struggle to overcome food insufficiency. This reminds us of a linguistic manipulation which is referred to by philosophers as *petitio principii*.

Begging the question is the general consumption translation of what philosophers call *petitio principii* – an argument that improperly assumes as true the precise point the speaker is trying to prove. Or as Fowler puts it: 'The fallacy of founding a conclusion on a basis that as much needs to be proved as the conclusion itself....' (Waldren, 2002, p. 7).

Comments included in Takebe's statement and Seiji Ohsumi's research from the Institute of Cetacean Research, which concluded that whaling would lead to the increase of fish numbers, are distrustful, as is Japanese fisheries diplomat, Masayuki Komatsu's infamous metaphorical euphemism for Minke whales, 'cockroaches of the sea' (Clerk, 2001, also cited in Brook, 2001, p. 21). Although criticised by Toshio Kasuya, Professor of Tokyo University, claims that, 'If you remove certain species of whales, you will get more fish. This logic is another problem. I don't trust it' (Bristow, 2002). This chain of sentiments is straightforwardly reflected by the incompatible semantic environment, which is not particularly rational to the core of the argument and demonstrates the lack of coherence.

Where arguing occurs over suggestions and opinions from an identical viewpoint of an object, insufficiency of information can also be detected. This is due to the distant attitudes, namely mutual compromising attitudes, which are observed as being vital in

Japanese culture in contrast to the *give and take* attitude in Western counterparts (March, 1996). It refers to what Condon (1984) calls the *erabi* (*either/or, yes or no*) and *awase* (*more-or-less*) phenomenon. Japan's and Norway's assertions clearly differ from that of the IWC and its anti-whaling allies led by Britain, the United States, New Zealand and Australia, which do not permit hunting whales any more, unlike the old days when 'whale oil was commonly used in everything from boot polish and candles to ice-cream' (Brook, 2001, p. 21). In other words, in making ethical and moral judgements it is necessary to find some common ground between what is essential in a practical sense and the supporting scientific evidence. While there are divergences between speculative and practical colloquy on whaling there will be no chance of achieving conciliatory attitudes of both protagonists and antagonists and establishing an accord. It should be noted that this theory, linked with the incompatible semantic environment, also corresponds directly to discussion about issues such as abortion and euthanasia, which utilises extensive euphemism.

5.4.1.2 To Say or Not to Say

The above discussion relating to the semantic environment also brings us to historical incidents which are contrary to humanitarianism and conventionally ignite great argument. Especially when involving an expression of repentance, the issues can be disputatious and belligerent. For example, discussion over the matter of the ostensibly plain and elementary but profoundly meaningful lexical item *sorry* might accelerate to reach a significant turning point in the officially recognisable history of Japan as well as Australia.

Japanese Imperial Army's process of colonisation and its behaviour during World War II have been ascribed to the non-appearance of *sorry*, and incompatible semantic environment can also be attributed as a source of the conflict. Euphemising historical fact and truth is an infamous common practice in school history textbooks worldwide, and Japan is not an exception. 'Annexation of Korea' by Japan in 1910 was rendered to 'suppressing the fierce residence of Korea'. The 'Sino-Japanese war' in 1894-1895 is not regraded as combat but 'resistances' (Kimijima, 2000, p. 209). 'Japanese textbooks,

which are state approved but not state authored vary in their writing styles, wording, and emphasis, reflecting the values and perspectives of individual authors' (Kimijima, 2000, p. 205), so that according to Hein and Selden (2000, pp. 10-11), the Japanese Ministry of Education could possibly transfer the infamous instruction by the amendment of phrases like 'invasion of China' to 'advance into China'. Also the semantic purification of its colonisation actions in Asian neighbours like Korea, Taiwan and China contain a number of numerical manipulations: the Nanjing massacre sacrificed a huge number of lives, 'including both POWs and ordinary civilians, has been estimated at 100,000. The Tokyo War Crimes Trial used the figure of 200,000, and the Chinese government puts it at above 300,000' (as cited in Hein & Selden, 2000, p. 11).⁷

Those euphemising practices are also visible in literature about the treatment of 200,000 girls and women, including POWs, in colonised areas termed as *nihon mura* (*Japanese villages*), where they were forced to provide sexual intercourse for Japanese soldiers during the Asia-Pacific war. They have never been described as 'military sexual slaves' but instead were introduced as *military comfort women* (*juugun ianfu*) (Toomey, 2001). This term was a clear coinage to paint its distorted picture of reality. Likewise is the lexicon *teishintai*, which was used during this period and means *voluntary (labour) corps*, and is still preferred and dysphemised by those tortured Korean women even in present days (Kimijima, 2000; Watanabe, 1999). In 1996, five years after the first group of Korean women officially disclosed war crimes against the Japanese Imperial Army, the United Nations Human Rights Committee commenced its interrogation and claims for financial compensation, public apology, and modification regarding the war crimes as documented in school textbooks (Toomey, 2001; Watanabe, 1999), yet this does not seem to have occurred yet. Since most women involved in this sexual abuse and trafficking declined the acceptance of the first, second and third offers, compensations have not been carried out yet by Japanese officials and the situation is surrounded by profound engagement with euphemisms.

⁷ According to Hein & Selden (2000), section within double parentheses is elaborated in one middle school textbook.

There has been significant change of the attitude of the Japanese government towards this issue. Japan's former Prime Minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, commented in 1994 that it is a '... delicate matter of definitions whether Japan committed aggression against Asian nations in the war' (as cited in Lies, 2001). Nevertheless, they are all ambiguous and expressed ostensibly, such as the case where several prime ministers apologised with no *sorry*. One case involved a *private* funding association established not by the Japanese government but the former Prime Minister, Tomiichi Murayama. His explanations and policies (and euphemistic action) were prescribed by euphemising slave prostitutes as *military comfort women* in various manners. These euphemisms all produce equivocal literal interpretations that emerged in school textbooks. Nobukatsu Fujioka points out one textbook which contains the statement: "Many young Korean women and others were sent to the front lines as 'comfort women'". And another textbook notes that 'there were also some women from Korea and Taiwan and other places who were made to work in battlefield comfort facilities.' In fact, 'Many high school textbooks already included similar statements' (as cited in Hein and Selden, 2000, p. 25).

In regard to the corresponding atrocities committed during World War II, the current Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, has not addressed the term *sorry* as yet. On 13 August 2001, two days prior to the 56th anniversary of Japan's World War II surrender, Koizumi embarked on a customary visit to Yasukuni Shrine (which he did as Prime Minister annually). This shrine commemorates seven Class A war criminals including Hideki Tojo, the leader of the Imperial Japanese Army as well as 1000 Class B and C military personnel and the other 2.5 million soldiers who died during wars since 1853 (Lunn, 2001a, 2001b). Koizumi's statement, '(I want to visit) out of my determination as Prime Minister that we should never wage war again' (as cited in Lunn, 2001a, p. 10) is mingled with the rationale of his visit as the representative of a nation. This protocol can be considered as an international norm and frequently practised by world leaders. Undoubtedly, each statement is pertinent. Comparing Koizumi's act with U.S. protocol, the distinctions do not appear unique to Yasuo Ohara, Kokagakuin University professor, who analyses the situation as follows;

There is no difference whatsoever from Bush or Clinton visiting Arlington national cemetery. It is common practice in every nation that religion is involved or used in the military or at times of war again (as cited in Lunn, 2001a, p. 10).

Extending Ohara's analysis to the Australian context, Australian Prime Minister, John Howard's visit to and conduction of a war memorial service in Canberra would not be any different essentially to any Head of State's visit to such a place (Lunn, 2001a). Despite its superficial plausibility, this is a typical argument developed in a dissonant semantic environment. If a privately oriented visit is to take place freely without backfire and sharp criticism from others, it should and could have been organised on other dates to be non-problematic. Also Koizumi ignores the fact that whatever he does and wherever goes, he is the Prime Minister in Japan. Moreover, a Japanese Prime Minister's stance here is also interwoven with this personally and privately motivated visit in honour of Japanese soldiers who sacrificed their lives during wartime. In short, the nature of the different semantic environment is argued and camouflaged by a single topic. His personal and private acts are irrelevant to one another and the unrealisable attempt to keep them discrete emerges as a pitfall. The public should be reminded clearly that exposing Koizumi's comments on his acts, which is an equivocal boundary between political and personal acts, reveals an example of the conduct of linguistic engagement in dissonant semantic environments, but not intended to be severe judgement or condemnation of a Japanese Prime Minister's political act in itself.

Differentiated semantic environments also create controversial issues in Australian contexts where the word *sorry* has been disputed. In the case of Australia, the central force behind the persistence of taboo issues is the nonconformity on the *stolen generation* and *aboriginal treatment* and is the most controversial and significant issue in its recent history. Disregarding the fact that the British invaded Australia and native Australians, Aborigines, were *murdered* (intentionally killed) rather than *man-slaughtered* (accidentally killed), bullied and coerced to labour, political representatives of the nation have never uttered the term *sorry* when encountering this sensitive issue but utilised euphemistic locutions avoiding a straightforward apology. The most recent case is the statement with a non-existent *sorry* made by the current Australian Prime

Minister, John Howard. In Parliament on 26 August 1999, he announced how deeply and sincerely regretful he was of the historical incidents which forcefully involved members of the stolen generation (The World Today Achieve, 1999). This statement consequently became a noteworthy segment in a weekend forum on reconciliation between the Australian government and Aborigines, which was organised by political scientist, Pam Ryan in Canberra, 2000. As part of the second day's deliberation poll on this forum, a panel discussion was held among the forum participants, politicians, distinctive scholars and experts on this issue. Below is an illustrative verbatim discourse between Otto Stumbras, a questioner, and Philip Ruddock, then Australian Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Affairs.

Stumbras: What is the difference between deep regret and sorry? Are we just playing with semantics? Why is deep regret not enough?

Ruddock: ... I have no doubt that what happened in the past, if it was occurring today and I was responsible, I would say sorry. But the question, when you look back and you deeply regret what has happened is whether you accept that personal culpability (Guthrie & Simms, 2001).

In this instance, Ruddock implied that there is personal desolation over past events, yet at the same time he has no sense of obligation to engage the term *sorry* due to the fact that such historical ordeals experienced by aborigines were not caused by his actions or schemes. Their accountant outwardly has gripped the pivotal core of the controversy. Certainly Howard and Ruddock were not involved in and are not the direct cause of the *stolen generation* and *aborigine treatment* so that it might be impertinent, from their personal perspective, for the nation to expect them to voice the term *sorry* in apologetic statement. This is an identical analysis of Doi (2001b), one of Japan's well-known academic scholars and leading psychiatrists, who scrutinised the contexts of apologising about Japan's acts in World War II. He remarks:

It is relatively strange and irrational that one needs to apologise on behalf of others about the crimes they committed. It makes sense on the other hand if one expresses his/her regrets about the offences committed. ... it is nonsense to apologise to public as a substitute for others. I believe that an appropriate apology should be made only by the person who commits the misdemeanour (Doi, 2001b, p. 195, translated by Hasegawa).

However, the argument over aboriginal issues remains because of the incompatible semantic environment, which is similar to the current Japanese politicians' attitudes towards World War II. The pertinency of this point in common with each case is that voicing *sorry* has been expected as a representative of nations rather than a private apology. The absence of *sorry* will remain as far as representatives do not redesign their individual attitude towards these atrocities. Politicians' ignorance of their role as elected leaders of nations should be practised and if so, the term *sorry* might be likely to appear in the future. This picture also refers to the nonconformity of mutual reconciliation and the failure of the harmonious future among the whole nation's people domestically and internationally. These pitfalls, which feature unrelated semantic environments, could be caused by euphemism and sly techniques. Bob McMullan, Shadow Australian Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Affairs, resentfully opines:

We cannot move on as a nation until our government does say sorry, and sorry that carries weight beyond its meaning and we must say it (Guthrie & Simms, 2001).

These are only two of the issues typically perplexing and stemming from the different semantic environments. Another striking one in which most people are currently critically interested is the anti-American sentiment around the world. While one stance does not like U.S. diplomacy, this is not the same as the stance against the whole U.S. and its other characteristics and actions. As Adams (2003b, p. 9) insists, 'Anti-American? Certainly not. Anti-administration? Absolutely. Anyone who can't see the difference is an idiot – or a US ambassador'. The semantic environment contains potential danger to harm others in euphemistic ways without harming indirectly,

5.4.2 Defining the Definition and Classifying the Classification

There is a general tendency in society to categorise all elements and subjects into certain groups. This mechanism functions under the major corresponding labels of definition and classification despite the infeasibility of using these labels in a precise manner. Consider the racial varieties. They can be categorised by peerlessly described definitions and/or classifications because of the absence of legitimate or lawful standardisation.

If race means homogeneity of genetic structure, then we are indeed in deep trouble. It is likely that every person alive is a hybrid in the genetic sense. And we do not have the genetic code available when we ask individuals to report their own perception of their race, which is the usual way to obtain data on race (Jaffe & Spirer, 1987, p. 35).

Compared with the above, which shows that unfamiliar lexical items used commonly and taken for granted can have a powerful effect on the obscurity of the statement, the familiar lexicons have been accepted more prominently and should be denounced for their straightforwardness, which drastically reduces the antagonistic concept. It should be made known that such manoeuvres with the familiar lexical usage and signs and symbols tend to be practised along with the atypical discipline designed ultimately by certain people. It is customary to define and classify irrelevant segments by a single particular implication as if a mutual relevant relationship exists among them. Covert concomitants of those imprudent manners are exposed in the following sections with the aim to detect the sly misleading semantic techniques.

5.4.2.1 Uniting Discrete Subject Matters under Single Delineation

Inconsistency of the application of theory, which defines discrete subjects, falls into the esoterically designed single common category as has been portrayed clearly in various instances throughout history. Exposure of an instance of such an irrelevant baseline was yielded in the report of the measurement of houses in Japan compared with its Western counterparts. It is acknowledged world-wide that houses in Japan are extremely limited in space, as described by Kitaguchi (1999, p. 108): 'The average number of rooms per house in Japan is currently 4.2 fewer than in France and Italy, but very similar to West Germany'. He continues its chaotic feature of the multi-subject definition with the quotation of Hayakawa noted partly as:

The average living-room size regarded as essential in western countries is just over 20 square metres in Sweden, 18 square metres in West Germany and just over 15 square metres in Great Britain, although the preferred size increases with the number of household members. If the master bedroom in Western homes were anything less than twelve square meters on average, the house would be regarded as being one room short. The western approach to kitchens is that they must also have enough space to sit down and enjoy a simple meal, with room for a dining table and chairs. And yet, while such kitchen/dining areas are not

normally counted in the western equation of how many rooms a particular house contains, Japan counts an area of just five square meters as one whole room. Even kitchens where the whole five square meters are just bare boards are counted as separate rooms' (as cited in Kitaguchi, 1999, p. 108).

When subjects are set in different contexts it is infeasible to establish common criteria with which to compare.. The categories utilised in the above instances also create diverse definitions and identical concepts between countries such as, "What is the number assigned to a foyer, a large closet, or a combination living and dining room? How is a 'foyer' or a 'combination living and dining room' defined?" (Jaffe & Spirer, 1987, p. 116).

Lack of residential land results in high expenditure in the housing system. Due to the recession in Japan, the prices of most accommodations and products have been decreasing in present days. Strictly speaking, the term *depression* is not used any more, but *recession* itself has rooted its status as doublespeak because it '... was surely invented to disabuse people of the suspicion that perhaps another great depression might be imminent' (Gibson, 1974, p. 16). Execution of occupational tasks ensures that one receives income and makes a living, whereas the worst case is losing one's position and having no financial resource to be relied upon. The unemployment rate in Japan hit a record 5% in July 2001, which seems not to be worth considering compared with other countries such as Australia (6.9% in 1999-2000), Germany (over 10% in 1999), and France and Italy (over 11% in 1999) and so forth. Nevertheless, this is not the only case where the techniques of omission in doublespeak are flourished and reinforced by the Japanese government. In this instance, one working on a casual basis, even in a job which requires only one hour per week, is not counted as unemployed (also cited in Geddes (Ed.), 2001). Likewise, those in search of a job without any assistance from an employment agency are also excluded. In addition, there is a great number of *shanai shitsugyousha*, (*lit; unemployed person/people within a company*), which is utilised to represent the concept of employees being fired, terminating their right to payment although their job titles remain unchanged in the public eye as if they were still considered company employees. They are in fact not included in the unemployment ratio

in Japan (Ochiai, 2000).⁸ 'Hardly any characters in fiction have occasion to excrete; in the world they inhabit, such acts would be grossly out of place' (Adams, 1985, p. 47). Hausman (2000) analyses that one's indubitably acceptable attitude of the statistical manifestation is due to 'the notion that you can only read so much into data, and when we try to make numbers meaningful we can inject unintentional distortion' (Hausman, 2000, p. 47). He also highlights the calculation of the unemployment rate by companies' payrolls while a large number of others created with no payrolls have emerged. It must be admitted, however, that those statistics reflect (or dysphemistically speaking, *the statistics do not represent*) the well-known Japanese enterprise characters such as *shuushin koyou* (*lifetime employment* or *life-long employment*) and *nenkou jyoretsu* (*seniority-wage system*) which are observable only in large companies which employ less than 20% of the total of Japanese employees (Neustupny, 1987). In other words, no employment security can be obtained for over 80% of people in Japan.

The major doublespeak problems in the occupational environment expand to working hours as well. In November 2001, a simple claim made by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and screened on several news programs in Australia stated that Australians carry on the second longest working hours after Koreans in the world. It is imaginable that this claim has also been distorted with the single delineation *working hours*. Dr. Iain Campbell's research at Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) insists that 'work-hours in many other countries are shortening, while the hours worked by Australians are still on the rise, and 25 to 35 per cent of Australians are unpaid for the overtime they put in' (Bachelard, 2001, p. 9), despite the fact that he is not perfectly satisfied with the ACTU's statement and admits their inconsideration of the complexity which has been involved in this matter. On the contrary, Professor Mark Wooden from the University of Melbourne criticises Campbell's data as 'too unreliable to make comparisons across countries' (Bachelard, 2001, p. 9), and points out Australia's interconnection with Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries and European counterparts. "Europe is a highly protected economic

⁸ Refer to Section 4.2.2.2 for *shanai shitsugyoo*(sha).

and labour market 'cartel', whereas Australia 'has to compete in Asia'" (Bachelard, 2001, p. 9), and long working hours are brought about by high job satisfaction.

What should be notable here is the comparison of the two differentiated subjects: officially legalised working hours and arbitrarily revealed working hours. Consider the following Japanese and Australian contexts. The number of legal working hours in Japan has remained at 40-hours per week since 1997 (Lunn, 2001c, p. 9) while currently no laws exist regarding the maximum number of working hours in Australia. The average weekly working hours should have also been counted by the separate criteria which target the assorted categories: part or full-time workers, men or women including those who are on married and maternal/paternal leave, industrial category difference, and recognition of overtime work. As exposed by Lunn (2001c, p. 9), for example, a simple numerical acknowledgment of an average 35.7 hours per week by Japanese employees estimated by the Bank of Japan figures might have excluded the gender of the participants, or the 20 hours of unpaid overtime work a month might have failed to consider extra time spent outside the company. Indications that Australians spend an average 39.4 hours for men and 28.4 for women at work and that 25 to 35% of Australian counterparts were unpaid for overtime work in 1999/2000 (Geddes, 2001) may also be interpreted in the same manner. Those hybridised broad sets of benchmarks and the standardisation under single delineation are the prime factors for the delivery of this type of enigmatic claim.

In the academic field of tertiary education, students are not considered as non-workers, whereas there must be thousands who pursue their study not out of authentic desire but due to the difficulties with searching for employment. Shanker showed some statistics about school dropouts in the United States in the late 1970s (37,286 derived from the difference between 85,459 who entered in 1974 and 48,173 who graduated in 1979) to illustrate the explicit falsification under the name of the single delineation *dropout*.

The report assumes that *all* students, those graduating both public and private eighth and ninth grades, entered the *public* high schools. About 15% of the students leaving eighth and ninth grades are in private or parochial schools and many of these students may enter high schools outside of New York or leave the

city. About 13,000 of the missing 37,286 were enrolled in an Evening Certificate Program. An 'Auxiliary Service Program' which serves students in a work-study program had 15,526 enrollees and graduates, who were counted as dropouts in the Report. Is this a deliberate or accidental misuse? At the time the then-new chancellor was negotiating with the city administration for funds. Shanker believed that the government purpose was twofold: first, to gain support for increased funds; and second, to enable the chancellor to show an improvement as a consequence of his subsequent actions (as cited in Jaffe & Spirer, 1987, p. 41).

Clear descriptions of definitions and benchmarks are obligatory in order to preclude breakdowns in interpretation.

5.4.2.2 Arbitrary Delineation

Language is a tool of communication and, in some sense, a convergence of basic semantic rules. Focusing on the name of entities, every commodity contains and is addressed by individual labels. To indicate *dog* in Japanese, *inu* is the appropriate label and the English term *dog* can never be utilised, and vice versa in accordance with English rules. This explanation makes sense and is conventionally comprehended when the label is attached as a signal rather than a symbol. Hayakawa and Hayakawa (1990, p. 14) explain the following two dictions, introducing the distinct behaviour between human beings and chimpanzees on the action, 'red light is stop'.

To the chimpanzee, the red light is, we shall say, a *signal*, and we shall term its reaction a *signal reaction*: *that is, a complete and invariable reaction that occurs whether or not the conditions warrant*. To the human being, on the other hand, the red light is, in our terminology, a *symbol*, and we shall term the human reaction a *symbol reaction*; *that is, a delayed reaction, conditional upon the circumstances*. In other words, the nervous system capable only of signal reactions *identifies the signal with the thing for which the signal stands...* (Hayakawa & Hayakawa, 1990, p. 14).

Analysing their opinion from a different perspective, signal is prone to denote the meaning of the object while symbol can connote extensively and be interpreted differently. These symbolic elements exist primarily in all human languages and, it is important to note, cause multiple understandings in interpretation processes (Margulis, 1975).

Orientations of symbols are comprehended mutually between communicators and their affiliated strategies and are conventionally understated and non-prescribed. As May (1974, p. 122) remarked, 'The symbol always implies more than it states; it is essentially connotative rather than denotative'. Also connotative features are rarely encoded in the literal texts (Goddard, 1998). Thus, the name to indicate a targeted entity may potentially be decoded heterogeneously by message receivers, so that arbitrary indicators, which often appear, will disturb these socially affiliated non-verbalised strategic rules and engineer communication breakdowns. Labelling subjects and objects is a subconscious human practice which to the extent that we are often unaware of it, and hence crucial pitfalls can be caused by being occupied with this labelling (Condon, Jr., 1966; Lutz, 1996). This practice can interfere with the information being transformed in a message and hence with successful communication. In the following section, the consequence of the use of symbolic strategies, identified by Kenneth Burke, the literary and rhetorical critic (as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 66), in particular the use of self-delineation, is discussed and examined closely using the example of prizes, awards and indicators.

5.4.2.2.1 Arbitrarily Delineated Prizes / Awards

There is no doubt that the Nobel Prize, named after the inventor of dynamite, Alfred B. Nobel, is one of the most reputable and prestigious prizes in the world. Each country has its own well-known and reputable prizes and awards such as the Prime Minister's Prize (formerly recognised as the Australian Prize) in Australia and the National Honourable Prize in Japan. Although such prizes are hugely respected status symbols that require astonishingly excellent achievements which seem unattainable to most of us. The equivalent basic formula for the selection procedures for all prizes and awards from the Nobel Prize to more individually related levels in daily life, such as the best student award at a school, underscores our ordinary daily lives as well. The prevailing formula is that the committee established for the prizes and awards selection is responsible for creating its selection criteria and making judgements of the persons to be awarded the prize or award.

There are shoals of prizes/awards in our daily lives. Among the most famous and prestigious are 39 different prizes and awards within the following seven categories: Film, Television, Popular Music, Literature, Performing Arts, Art and Architecture in the section of Arts & Entertainment (Geddes, 2001). Despite the fact that they are certainly the most noteworthy and respectable in these fields, how many of the awardees are known and heard of by us? The reality is that many do not recognise such great reputations even though they are supposed to be known by many. This implies that they are not necessarily well known and broadly famous. Therefore it is often necessary to use terms such as *very famous*..., *well known*..., or *most popular*... before the person's real title and core name are referred to.

This subconscious human attitude accelerates the lexical phenomenon based on *self-delineation* and many are not meticulous about the arbitrarily motivated criteria. Lack of consideration of self-delineated criteria, for example, can arise from the unseen background of the judging panel and their reasons for being involved in the competition. Insignificance and indefinite characteristic elements for the prize/award winner can reflect the judge's nepotism in the selection process. Ambiguity can arise from a deficiency of detailed regulations and establishment of assessment standards for judges and competitors. If the criteria are not given punctilious consideration, this can exacerbate the trend for benchmarks that have no foundation. In other words, the establishment of a particular prize and/or award under an arbitrary benchmark is one of the most powerful motivators to direct people into their converging with the interlocutor's intended meaning.

A classic case built by esoteric self-delineation is that of medal-rankings, which can be used as seductive and captivating indicators of a product's worth, especially in the example of attracting alcohol consumers. Most wine advertisements present the number of awards, trophies and/or *Gold*, *Silver* and *Bronze medals* awarded to each wine. Consider Table 5.1 below. According to a newspaper pamphlet *The 2002 Tasters' Dozen*, No 12: 1997 wine (*The Growers* produced by *Dorrien Estate*) won 13 medals: 3 silver and 10 bronze medals, and this may confer various interpretations. It is obvious

that each winning medal is the result of diverse and arbitrary criteria and individual judging panels. The diversities in the selective conditions must have been profound. Ultimately speaking, the Bronze medal can convey the meaning of the third prize within three different wines. Since this wine selection was organised by six judge panels, plausibly showing their current occupational backgrounds, it is understandable that their opinions reflect the selection. Yet this means that those medals are not necessarily indicators of a wine's quality. Although in Australia, 'the most important wine shows are held annually in each of the capital cities' (Geddes, 2001, p. 499), each has its hidden unique benchmarks which are subjectively designed and covertly employed. Consider the identities of these six judges in Table 5.2. Two of them are from *the Dorrien Estate*, which produced the 13-medal-winning wine. Surely this is apparent partiality constitutes a conflict of interest and affects the outcome of the competition.

Table 5.1

The Tasters' Dozen: Medal Ranking
(G: Gold, S: Silver, & B: Bronze)

	Labels of Wines	G	S	B	Others
(1)	Tyrrell's Lost Block Semillon 2000	2	2	4	
(2)	Orlando St Helga Riesling 2000		8		
(3)	Margan Family Wines Hunter Valley Semillon 2001	2			
(4)	Briar Ridge Hunter Chardonnay 2001			1	Wine of the Year
(5)	Evans & Tate Lionel's Vineyard Margaret River Chardonnay 2001				
(6)	Heemskerk Tasmania Chardonnay 2001				
(7)	Rosemount Estate Shiraz 2000	4			Trophy
(8)	Geoff Merrill Owen's Estate Cabernet Merlot 1998	1			
(9)	Yalumba Barossa Shiraz 1999	1		6	
(10)	Vasarelli Vineyards McLaren Vale Shiraz 1999			1	Wine of the Year
(11)	Addison Mt. Benson Section 49 Shiraz 1998	1	2	5	4.5 Stars (Winestate Magazine)
(12)	Dorrien Estate The Growers Barossa Valley Shiraz 1997		3	10	

(The 2002 Tasters' Dozen, n.d.)

Table 5.2

The Tasters' Dozen: Judging Panel

Name	Background
Simon Adams	Chief Winemaker in Dorrien Estate, South Australia
Neil McGuigan	General Manager in Rothbury Estate, New South Wales
Mark Purbrick	Wine Show Judge
Christine Ricketts	Wine Educator & Wine adviser to Gourmet Safaris, Sydney
Steve Chapman	Winemaker in Dorrien Estate, South Australia
Tony Bilson	Leading restaurateur, Fine Bouche, Berowra Waters Inn Ampersand, Canard

(*The 2002 Tasters' Dozen*, n.d.)

These types of attractive techniques, based on self-delineation, can also be practised using a star rating system. As well as the wine industry, areas of the entertainment industry including movies, food and accommodation also use a star-rating system. The sign of the stars and its numbers sometimes promotes a more powerful impact than semantics in the statement, whereas their values are not objectively motivated but subjectively determined by their own self-autonomous star system. This instance was clearly observed by the ratings given by two movie critics. The movie *Kill Bill Volume 1* was labelled with 5 stars by Margaret Pomeranz (Pomeranz, 2003) in contrast to Evan Williams who awarded the same movie only 1 star (Williams, 2003). Moreover, when two conflicting evaluations given in the same program, as for example, by David Stratton who gave nil and Margaret Pomeranz who gave 5 out of 5 for the movie *Dancer in the Dark*, the arbitrarily delineated star-rating system was more severely criticised by mass media (Zion, 2004). These examples demonstrate the idiosyncratic perceptions that can reflect the ranking system, but which are apt to be disregarded by the majority and masked by the simple signs. To make an overt assertion, those prizes and awards are presented in accordance with the recondite dimension, which has been universally and subconsciously accepted in society.

5.4.2.2.2 Arbitrarily Delineated Size Indicators

Selfsame size indicators do not necessarily indicate the corresponding counterpart but are represented by different scales and diverse measuring styles. The most common example is foot size. Size 8.5 in Australian terms is the equivalent to 9.5 U.S. size and 27.5 centimetres in Japan. It is also interesting to mention that sole size indicators differ

from producer to producer even within a single country so that an exclusively appointed single size can never apply to each one. Many females these days tend to have a desire to lose weight, which promotes their physical self-esteem and portrays their ambition to wear smaller-sized clothing. In recent years, the apparel industry has paid attention to this female psychological obsession, and euphemistic obfuscation has been launched to manipulate their conceptualisation. 'Today's average size 10 has the approximate measurements of a size 18 in a Sears Roebuck (US department store) catalogue from the turn of the century', reports Caroline Mead (2001, p. 42), about this size-shrinking phenomenon.⁹ Some Australian clothing manufacturers, such as *George Spyrou*, *Nicky Zimmermann*, *Rebecca Davies* and *Charlie Brown*, admit that self-delineated size indication in their garments is covert, and acknowledge a conspicuous recent trend such as the ultimate small *size zero* shown by *Saba*. Moreover, *Brown* confesses that this marketing strategy is effective to modify the taste of what a female customer purchases; 'She becomes more courageous, buying sexier, trickier garments that cost more money' (Mead, 2001, p. 42).

Another interesting thing to consider is a unique measurement revealed by simple and commonly well-known lexicons such as *Single*, *Double*, *Queen* and *King* for beds, etc., and *Small*, *Medium*, *Large* and *Extra Large* for clothing and food containers, etc. They are orthodox labels which can be compared and distinguished, irrespective of commonsense, although it is arduous to determine the exact integer scale of the entity. For example, the Japanese *furii saizu* (*Free Size*) is able to be interpreted as whatever scale you desire, or the manufactures kindly give us their explanations of the labels in words but with no visual representation (Hasegawa, 2001), so that no real meaning is indicated by this size, and it accommodates all the customers' self-perceptions, however unrealistic. According to Mead (2001, p. 42) a case in Australia is that in which the brand *Glamourpuss*, after demolishing entirely run-of-the-mill concepts of size indicators by a self-delineation phenomenon, has been substituting indicators such as *Jayne*, indicating Size 16, and *Audrey*, which is equivalent to Size 8. It is a complete

⁹ Size-shrinking phenomenon was also briefly mentioned in Allan and Burridge (1991).

new phenomenon to show the size, without the globally comprehended measurement indicators, firmly established by the arbitrariness of semantic self-delineators.

Material goods are often described as authentic and unchangeable. As also demonstrated in the section on signs and symbols above, what can be altered is not the things but our interpretations of them based on our cognitive accountability. Creating impressions of self-delineated size indicators is not illegal and often results in positive association rather than any psychological damage due to the scale system created by individual companies, which can cause extensive semantic mystification. The motivation for these actions stems from social demands and structures which shape the language, yet this phenomenon does not work in reverse.¹⁰ RMIT fashion design lecturer, Laurene Vaughan notes, 'Traditionally we have been led to believe that we are victims of fashion design. However, in reality, design is much more interactive and responsive to the social environment' (as cited in Mead, 2001, p. 42).

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored various aspects of strategies for euphemistic rhetoric, concentrating on discussion of the usage in the discourse of doublespeak, along with extensive demonstration of the Japanese and Australian contexts and incidents. It has argued the any lexical items and entities have the potential to be used as all three: euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak at the same time varying from person to person. Further, it has established that functional elements reflect the given contexts and are fully interchangeable. As observed, euphemistic expressions are connected with their individual sociological and psychological representations and are masked by the distinctive rhetoric of the statements.

This is the end of Part I: Critical Examination of the Euphemistic Issues and Concepts Related to the Sphere of Sociolinguistics and Psycholinguistics (Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5), which concentrated on RO1: To identify functions of euphemistic expressions in terms of communication. The previous three chapters have attempted to persuade people to

¹⁰ See Chapter 3 for discussion of the significant language shaping elements in society.

consider the significance of the context in which euphemism is employed in a social discourse in a foreign language. If people using simply literal interpretation in the target language (or society) comprehend the superficial context, yet no explanation is provided to adjust the chasm between languages and allow for flexibility of expression or translation beforehand, euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions can potentially be misunderstood. The large scale of divergent common perspectives embedded in the two different languages produces more possibilities for conflict to occur because euphemism and dysphemism are not the only ways of expressing certain concepts or describing situations, even within the mono-lingually motivated environment.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

There are a great deal of euphemistic, dysphemistic, and doublespeak expressions employed in any society. We all encounter various intercultural communication problems in our own first language, so it is easy to speculate that utilising euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak may result in a great number of difficulties faced by non-native speakers in the target language. Why does this happen all the time? The difficulty of translation from the target language into the first language, or vice versa, arises because of the following factors: (1) unsatisfactory quality of the target language usage, and (2) insufficient knowledge of intercultural communication.

Foreign language education can never be separated from its cultural context. Since advanced-level target language users are the focus of this research, the second statement above regarding cultural diversity turns into a very significant factor. As Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 8) note,

... there are cultural differences with respect to the use of euphemism and dysphemism, but they are differences in degree rather than differences in kind. Attitudes ... vary tremendously between cultures; but essentially these same parameters recur in every culture (and subculture) to motivate euphemism and dysphemism.

However what kind of knowledge should be acquired to enable the smooth interaction between interlocutors in the target language? There must be various ideas but providing a range of possible inferences and seeking the language learners' insights into the provisions will provide some clues to identify and break through the difficulties that arise in intercultural communication. As explained in the introduction, this thesis is comprised of two major parts, namely Part I: Critical Examination of the Euphemistic Issues and Concepts Related to the Sphere of Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistics and Part II: Discovery, Depiction and Exploration of Empirical Studies on Euphemism. This

chapter launches the discussion about Part II of the study, which describes the procedures and implementation of the research.

6.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This thesis is concerned with the essence of smooth intercultural communication focusing on the use of euphemistic functions in English and Japanese by non-native speakers. It is also concerned with identifying pragmatic principles for second/foreign language education with regard to euphemism usage for Japanese students who study English as a second/foreign language and Australian students who learn Japanese as a second/foreign language. In order to achieve these goals, the following Research Objectives (RO) were addressed by conducting a qualitative and quantitative study:

- RO1: To identify the functions of euphemistic expressions in terms of communication.
- RO2: To investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism.
- RO3: To examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts.
- RO4: To investigate how euphemistic expressions are handled by Japanese people learning English as a second/foreign language and Australians learning Japanese as a second/foreign language, when faced with sociolinguistic difficulties.

This research examines the difficulties caused by euphemistic locutions such as euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak, in the target language and suggests some implications and solutions. The implications in Japanese and English teaching and learning environment on euphemism will be established in Chapter 9, utilising the framework for the analysis presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

6.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research, native/non-native language users' perceptions and attitudes toward euphemism functions were investigated using both quantitative and qualitative methods. First, the quantitative method, which was questionnaire based, was conducted focusing

upon RO2 and RO3. Second, the qualitative, interview-based, method was utilised to address aims RO2, RO3, and RO4.

In establishing the framework for this research, there were a few important aspects to consider. Broad euphemistic vocabulary items and expressions were not the main issues in this research. The purpose was neither to shape statistical evidence nor to prove a hypothesis, rather it was to gain in-depth insight into the euphemistic functions used by non-native speakers of the target language. Therefore a combination of quantitative and qualitative research styles was preferred (Seidman, 1998). In order to elicit honest and frank opinions from the participants, creating a positive and relaxing atmosphere was a necessary, fundamental requirement.

The purpose of this research was explained to each participant at the very beginning of both the questionnaire and the interview. Especially in the interview, however, the researcher's personal background in foreign languages learning and teaching was deliberately not described in very much detail. This is because of the possibility that, if the participants were aware of the researcher's expertise as both an English and Japanese speaker, they might have omitted to tell him important information on the assumption that he already knew it, and this could have resulted in missing some of the deep insights of individual experience relating to euphemisms in their target language (Burns, 2000).

The assumption that target participants who have lived in the target country are familiar with its culture and are fluent in the target language does not always prove that they are confident in the euphemistic lexicon and semantics. In order to avoid this assumption, English was used when interviewing Australian participants and the Japanese language when questioning Japanese participants. As a result, participants' target language ability did not affect the interviews.

6.3.1 Research Essence

The word *research* connotes a very broad meaning and implies '... a multitude of activities, such as collecting masses of information, delving into esoteric theories, and

producing wonderful new products' (Walliman, 2001, p. 6). Consequently the concepts of the research we view may differ depending on the aim of the individual researcher, so that clarification of the meaning of research, definitions and understanding the characteristics of various research styles will increase the validity of the selected research methodology, and resulting in achieving the aim of the study.

After defining research as a systematic process of inquiry which contains three important stages: (1) a question, problem, or hypothesis, (2) data, and (3) analysis and interpretation of data, Nunan (1992) stresses that lacking any one of these elements (e.g., data) compromises the quality of the outcome. Many novice researchers are apt to consider that the research should follow these three stages sequentially and overlook two different basic concepts such as deductivism and inductivism. "*Deductive research* begins with a hypothesis or theory and then searches for evidence either to support or refute that hypothesis or theory. *Inductivism* seeks to derive general principle, theories, or 'truths' from an investigation and documentation of single instances" (Nunan, 1992, p. 13). Since the theme of this study *euphemism* is seen in such broad fields and hardly categorised in a particular area, this type of study, handling individual ambiguity regarding the lexical connotation and denotation, will be influenced greatly by the general view of the object along with the customary information. It seems to be preferable to carry on this research in the inductive style rather than in the deductive.

There are positive and negative aspects of any research methods. Nevertheless, conducting this research by those two methods, questionnaire and interview, can help to minimise the negative elements and enhance the positives at the same time. RO2 and RO3 were examined through questionnaires, while some overlapping segments of RO2, RO3, and RO4 were explored in the interviews. Utilising the combination of the two research approaches and the research techniques above would be expected to enable consistency of interviewees' opinions.

6.3.2 Quantitative and Qualitative Research

Research methods can, in general, be divided into two categories: quantitative and qualitative approaches. Burns (2000, p. 11) compares these two approaches as follows.

Qualitative research places stress on the validity of multiple meaning structures and holistic analysis, as opposed to the criteria of reliability and statistical compartmentalisation of quantitative research.

Although to make a clear distinction between qualitative and quantitative research can be observed as 'simplistic and naive' (Nunan, 1992, p. 3) by some researchers, it is important to recognise they are divergent sampling strategies and should not be compared with each other without careful strategy and rationales (Patton, 1987). In addition to this, researchers should be fully aware of the distinction between the two research methods which will be based heavily on the individual researcher's philosophy, as well as the possibility that it does not have to be limited to either quantitative or qualitative approaches. Sometimes a combination of the two approaches can enable the collection of broad and significant ideas from various points of view. For a research investigation such as this study, focusing on second/foreign language learners and education, the insights collected from the quantitative methods such as questionnaires will be the first step, and it can help to conceptualise the interviewing questions for more in-depth investigation (Bryman & Burgess, as cited in Walliman, 2001; Leedy, 1997; Patton, 1987, 1990; Reichardt & Cook, as cited in Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

6.3.3 Research Tools

For this study concerning the area of euphemism, which is difficult to categorise, employing both a questionnaire (quantitative method) and interview (qualitative method) seems to be an ideal method for the discovery of deep and detailed personal data collection in order to obtain participants' empirical experiences. Following are the details of the methodologies engaged in this research: questionnaire and interview.

6.3.3.1 Questionnaire

The section on mainstream questions was based on the Likert method, which is one of the least complicated methods of attitude measurement. This method is simple to prepare, entirely founded on empirical opinions, not judgemental, and contains high validity and reliability. On the other hand, the Likert method does not provide measurement of the participant's preferred response to a question but rather criteria for an interval scale. The scoring for each question does not clearly feature the overt meaning (Burns, 2000). Since this questionnaire was to be conducted for the general information collection, and the picture of the connotative difference between the terms was not the primary focus of this stage of the study, those negatives did not seem to be relevant.

6.3.3.1.1 Procedure of the Questionnaire

Before conducting the questionnaire, the information sheet was distributed in order to help the participants to acknowledge the nature of the questionnaire for the study. The main questionnaire consisted of questionnaire guide, demographic information, and language and non-language specific questions, as well as comment sheets.¹ The questionnaire was designed to contribute information to the RO2 and several elements of RO3. The questionnaire guide described the constitution of the questionnaire, a brief explanation of euphemism, and ensured the participants' confidentiality. The next part, Part A collected demographic information. The participants were asked to put a circle around the letter indicating the relevant information or to write their specific information. The questions provided demographic information about participants' gender, age, first language, student status, university faculty they belong/ed to, Japanese (for Australian participants) or English (for Japanese participants) ability, and a description of their character. In the following part, Part B: Language and Non-Language Specific Questions, the participants were asked to circle the number that most closely represented their views/attitudes about each statement.

¹ See Appendix 1 for the information sheet (questionnaire), Appendix 2 for questionnaire guide, Appendix 3 for demographic information, and Appendix 4 for language and non-language specific questions.

This was measured on a five-point *Likert scale* (Burns, 2000; Leedy, 1997). In this study, the scale was structured in the following way: Strongly Agree was represented by (5), Agree (4), Neutral (3), Disagree (2), and Strongly Disagree (1). Part B contained 67 questions. There was no time limit for completion, and a comment sheet was attached to enable the respondents to make open comments.

6.3.3.1.2 Questions in the Questionnaire

The questions were concerned with the respondents' attitudes and views of euphemism to a given set of contexts and some open-ended situations from the perspective of Australian and Japanese native speakers. Contexts included Professions (Politics/Government, Medics, Academics) and Prejudice and Discrimination (Gender and Race). Two parallel questionnaires, one in English and one in Japanese, were prepared for the Australian and Japanese participants respectively.

In the third part of the questionnaire, Part B: Language and Non-Language Specific Questions, the 67 questions were structured carefully to reflect the following five components, Component I: Euphemism in politeness and impoliteness (Question 1 to 17); Component II: Role of the euphemism in our daily life (Question 18 to 30); Component III: Euphemism and PC in discrimination primarily in terms of gender, race, age, and disability (Question 31 to 40); Component IV: Conceptualisation of euphemism, and attitudes towards it (Question 41 to 56); and Component V: Lexical perception on euphemism (Question 57 to 67). These questions are made due to the result of the researchers' carefully selected lexical items and are derived from the contexts and components above which might be necessary to examine in the euphemism employment. They are the questions which tend to focus on the mainstream of euphemism issues. These were obviously established by scrutinising the findings of extensive literature references on euphemism made in the Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. These questions are also considered to pinpoint the essentials for the ROs.²

² Questions in the original format of the questionnaire can be viewed in Appendix 4.

6.3.3.1.3 Questionnaire Participants' Background

The participants in the study were arranged by the researcher through academic and/or personal association with lecturers, language teachers, language learners, and their acquaintances, at various institutions in Australia and Japan. University students were chosen as target participants for the questionnaire due to the fact that this study is conducted to contribute to the further second/foreign language educational development. Consequently students at tertiary educational institutions rather than those at other educational institutions such as senior secondary schools, might have become the target participants. Among students at tertiary educational institutions, university students might be considered as encountering the most opportunities of the post cultural significance in society and being able to express their accounts.

These people were contacted and asked to assist with the recruitment of the volunteer participants for this research. Below are the descriptions of the participants' backgrounds. The participants were divided into four streamed groups. Questionnaire Type A, written in English, first targeted approximately 200 Australian university students: 100 Australian university students who were not learning Japanese, and another 100 who were learning Japanese as a foreign language. On the other hand, Japanese Questionnaire, Type B, was first administered by approximately 200 Japanese university students including 100 Japanese university students who were not learning English, and another 100 Japanese students who were learning English as a foreign language. The students learning their second/foreign languages were at advanced levels in their target countries. The breakdown of the sample groups can be seen in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Questionnaire Participants

Questionnaire Type	Target Participants	Focused Euphemism
A	100 Australian, not learning Japanese	English
	100 Australian, learning Japanese	
B	100 Japanese, not learning English	Japanese
	100 Japanese, learning English	

6.3.3.1.4 Period of the Questionnaires

After considering the participants' university yearly schedule, the questionnaire was administered between December 2001 and October 2002 at various universities in both countries, Australia and Japan. Collection of the questionnaires required a large amount of extra time because of the low response rate from the university students, especially in Australia. Since completing the questionnaire was neither a compulsory task nor one that would directly affect their university study, they were not very enthusiastic about this voluntary work conducted outside their classes.

6.3.3.2 Interview

There are three basic approaches available to qualitative interviewing: (1) the informal conversational interview, (2) the general interview guide approach, and (3) the standardised open-end interview (Patton, 1987, p. 109). Burns (2000) and Leedy (1997) call the first interview style *the structured interview*, and the second *the semi-structured interview*. The structured interview does not seem to be appropriate to this research since there is no flexibility in the procedure. Under the restraints of the questioning patterns, the individual person's perception may be difficult to discover. In addition, the establishment of a precise theoretical hypothesis is the first stage for the structured interview approach, whereas the researcher's assumptions before the interview are not to be taken into account. The open-ended interview should not be applied to this research, either. The open-ended interview, which can be described as 'a free-flown conversation' (Burns, 2000, p. 425), is to develop the interview without preliminary listed questions. This style is not plausible for this study because of the topic of this research, euphemism, which covers such a broad field. This research needs to ensure participants' overt and deep insights about particularly focused phenomena so that a structured interview outline is required. For those reasons, the semi-structured interview was selected as the most appropriate approach.

Seidman (1998, p. 3) expresses the essence of in-depth interviewing as 'an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of experience.'

The interview for Australian participants was held in English and the Japanese EFL participants were questioned in Japanese. This was because participants were expected to give a straightforward account of their concepts of euphemistic expressions, avoiding the extra pressure that could be created by unfamiliarity to the research situation and the researcher, and misinterpreting of the questions that could occur if the interview was conducted in a foreign language. Also, in order to encourage them to express honest opinions, the provision of a relaxing atmosphere and positive relationships were essential.

Flexibility is an important aspect of interview-style research. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) and Seidman (1998) highlight the importance of flexibility in interviews because 'Interview is a human interaction with all of its attendant uncertainties' (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 63). Questioning in the interview-based research method easily becomes very open, which means that setting up the criteria of the questionnaires becomes difficult. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) also note that qualitative inquiry establishes 'the stage for discovery as well as for ambiguity' (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 6) as a result of openness. At the same time, the essence of being a listener rather than a speaker should not be forgotten. Therefore, two different acts, preparing the flexible questioning and being informed for the participants, are supposed to be deployed together during the interview.

The interviews were tape-recorded. Note taking was an alternative but this does not make it as easy to conduct the appropriate interview style of natural and friendly conversation. The main data of an in-depth and unrestricted interview are what participants say (Patton, 1987; Seidman, 1998). However, there is in fact an advantage as well in the use of note taking. It is efficient especially when the interviewer prefers not to interrupt a participant for the purpose of clarifying ambiguous statements. In this case, writing down the key words can facilitate following up on them later. In this interview, therefore, notes were not necessarily taken all the time but were at some points for the purpose of 'keep[ing] quiet and listen[ing] actively' (Seidman, 1998, p. 63).

As Glesne and Peshkin (1992) write, the distinction between rapport and friendship also must be kept in mind for the following reasons. First is that groupism, which avoids alienation from other participants or over identification of participants in a group, may be observed in the process of the questioning when interviewing a group of participants. To address this problem, using the approach of individual interview created a situation in which no one had to rely on anyone, so that unclear expressions were clarified immediately when they arose and were not simply left unexplained. Second is that a problem can arise when participants discover the way the researcher prefers them to act and start to behave in this way. It is understandable that a positive relationship between the researchers and participants is ideal for this type of research, so that intercommunication between them, even in a limited time before the interview, was necessary. Contentious topics such as language education and cultural diversities were introduced rather than superficial and personal topics for the purpose of building not the friendship but the rapport which was needed in this research. Also, attachment of a respectful title *-san* or *-kun* (*Ms./Mr.*) to the interview participants' name made the researcher and participants clearly realise the relationship as rapport, rather than friendship, since the latter may cause inaccurate or dishonest data outcomes.

6.3.3.2.1 Procedure of the Interview

The interview targeted several elements of RO2, RO3 and RO4. It consisted of four different stages; obtaining permission after the explanation of the interview conditions, seeking the demographic information, a casual get-to-know-you session, and then the prime questions were asked. In the get-to-know-you session, approximately 15 minute's conversation, on some particular topic on their daily life, was conducted before the interview began. This helped for the participants and the researcher to build a non-formal atmosphere for the following interview.

As with the questionnaire, the information sheet was distributed to each participant to allow him/her to understand the nature of the interview prior to the arranged interview.³

³ The information sheet for the interview participants can be viewed in Appendix 5.

Apart from the demographic information being similar to that collected in the questionnaire, the investigation was focused on the participants' empirical values, characteristic features of the situations where euphemism appeared, and how they tackle the problems that arise.

6.3.3.2.2 Questions in the Interview

The interview questions concentrated on eliciting the non-native speakers' perspectives and collected four kinds of data: (1) demographic information, (2) participant's perspective, (3) problematic context, and (4) the way to cope with problematic euphemistic expressions. There were a total of 17 mainstream questions including supplemental questions.⁴

The prime strength of the semi-structured interview is its flexibility to change direction, hence it was used in this study to allow for the conversation to follow unexpected directions in response to the participants' interests and attitudes towards the questions. Consequently, some of the questions listed above were not raised or not directly answered by some interview participants.

The questions regarding Japanese euphemistic expressions and lexicon were administered to participants who were Australian born speakers of English as their first language. On the other hand, questions regarding English euphemisms were given to native speakers of Japanese.

6.3.3.2.3 Interview Participants' Background

For the interview regarding the questions on Japanese euphemistic expressions (Interview Type A), 10 Australian participants (5 males and 5 females) were voluntarily gathered. At the same time, 10 native speakers of Japanese (5 males and 5 females) were gathered voluntarily to respond to the questions in the interview, associated with English euphemistic expressions (Interview Type B) (see Table 6.2). The Australian participants

⁴ These questions raised in the interview can be viewed in Appendix 6.

were required to have completed the 3rd year university level or equivalent, or to have equivalent Japanese language ability, and to have stayed in Japan for 12 months or more in the past. The Japanese participants must have been university students in Australia (not ones in an English language institution affiliated to a university). Both sets of participants must have been living in the target country at the time when the interview was conducted. It was necessary to ensure that their target language competence level was high due to the level of semantic comprehension required to answer the questions. Equal numbers of male and female participants were selected in anticipation that there might have been some reflections attributable to gender differences in the socio/psycholinguistic aspects.

Table 6.2
Interview Participants

Interview Type	Target Participants	Focused Euphemism
A	5 Australian Males	Japanese
	5 Australian Females	
B	5 Japanese Males	English
	5 Japanese Females	

6.3.3.2.4 Period of the Interviews

The interviews were conducted with Japanese Male / Japanese Female participants (abbreviated to JM / JF) in Australia in September and October 2002 and with Australian Male / Australian Female counterparts (AM / AF) in Japan in March and June 2002. Simultaneously, two Australians residing in Japan but visiting Australia were interviewed in Australia between August and September 2002. The researcher’s visit to the target participants’ preferred location, and a precisely and carefully designed interview schedule enabled the organisation of multiple interviews during the set period.

6.4 SELECTION OF THE EUPHEMISTIC TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS

The lexical items selected for the questionnaire and interview questions were based on domains such as militarese/bureaucratese, medicalese, businesses, prostitution, gender, race/nationality, disability, and daily life in Australian and Japanese contexts, all of which have been discussed in previous chapters in this thesis. Although it differs slightly

from the categories named social domains, the area of expletives was intermixed because of an increasing tolerance for such phrases in social life.

The above domains were those identified frequently in the literature, as well as from the researcher's experiences as both an English and Japanese language speaker, as domains where the use of euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak is common. It was also carefully ensured that all euphemistic terms and expressions contained equivalent counterparts in both Japanese and English so that the comparison and contrast of the each euphemism in Japanese and English could be executed with less denotative differences even though the researcher was acutely aware that message and information are hardly transferable across the two languages so it is not possible to use these data for connotative and denotative interpretation.

6.5 DATA COLLECTION

The data were collected by means of quantitative as well as qualitative research conducted with the participants by the researcher. For the process of the raw data collection from questionnaires, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), which is now alternatively interpreted as an abbreviation of Statistical Product and Service Solutions (George & Mallery, 2001), was utilised. Responses were designated numerical values for the purpose of data entry and analysis.

The coding arrangement for rating scale and conceptual variables is illustrated in Table 6.3, which included 75 sections all together. In Part A, *gender* was coded as (1), *age* as (2), *first language* as (3), *current student status* as (4), *faculty* as (5), *Japanese or English language ability* as (6), and *socio-political attitude* as (7). The answers for these questions were coded correspondingly. Question No 3 regarding participants' first language required specific information about participants' demographic background regarding their first language (if they differed from the ones shown in the questionnaires). As a result, codes ranging from 0 to 12 were use to represent information about the participants' first languages. Also, in terms of Question No 5: the faculty to which the participants belonged (if different from the one shown in the

questionnaires). This was recorded because the presence of newly named faculties and various combinations of multiple faculties and academic areas for students to belong to under a single faculty name are common in both Australia and Japan.⁵ This fact resulted in variations of coding ranging from 0 to 22. Coding was also used to indicate the variables of a total of 67 questions in Part B; categorised by the domains explained above in a similar way (see (8) and (9) in Table 6.3).

There are some important points to be noticed regarding both Part A and B. Due to the fact that a few participants could not make clear decisions about rating some items on the scales of 1 to 9 in Part A (Questions 6 and 7) and 1 to 5 in Part B, the scales were changed to 0.5 intervals for these questions. In addition, variables with no clear responses were coded as zero, implying no answer.

After the questionnaires had been analysed, the semi-structured interviews were analysed in order to seek deeper insight into the individual concepts and to clarify further the questionnaire findings, from native and non-native speakers' perspectives.

Data collection is supposed to be conducted simultaneously with Data Analysis, to enable conceptualising the outcome of the study. Therefore, memo writing and analytic filing were used during the process of conducting the interviews.

⁵ Explained more details in Chapter 7: 7.2.

Table 6.3**Coded Number for Each Question in Questionnaire**

Question of Category	Summary of Code		
(1) Part A, Q1	0 = No Response	1 = Male	2 = Female
(2) Part A, Q2	0 = No Response	1 = 16-20	2 = 21-25
	3 = 26-30	4 = 31-35	5 = 36-40
	6 = 41-45	7 = 46-50	8 = Over 50
(3) Part A, Q3	0 = No Response	1 = English	2 = Japanese
	3 = Korean	4 = Cantonese	5 = Mandarin
	6 = French	7 = German	8 = Hebrew
	9 = Italian	10 = Thai	11 = Entered but Unidentified
	12 = English/American English		
(4) Part A, Q4	0 = No Response	1 = Undergraduate Student	2 = Postgraduate Student
	3 = Student at TAFE	4 = Student at University Language Centre	
(5) Part A, Q5	0 = No Response		
	1 = Faculty of Arts		
	2 = Faculty of Arts & Science		
	3 = Faculty of Commerce		
	4 = Faculty of Economics		
	5 = Faculty of Education		
	6 = Faculty of Foreign Languages		
	7 = Faculty of Health Science		
	8 = Faculty of Hospitality		
	9 = Faculty of International Relations		
	10 = Faculty of Law		
	11 = Faculty of Management		
	12 = Faculty of Science & Engineering		
	13 = Combination of Arts and Commerce		
	14 = Combination of Arts and Education		
	15 = Combination of Arts and Law		
	16 = Combination of Arts and Science & Engineering		
	17 = School of International Cultural Studies		
	18 = School of Physics (Faculty of Arts)		
	19 = TAFE & Community Service		
	20 = University Language Centre		
	21 = Year 12		
22 = Entered but Unidentified			
(6) Part A, Q6	0 = No Response	1 = None	2 = 2
	3 = 3	4 = 4	5 = 5
	6 = 6	7 = 7	8 = 8
	9 = Advance/Extremely Fluent		
(7) Part A, Q7	0 = No Response	1 = Very Conservative	2 = 2
	3 = 3	4 = 4	5 = 5
	6 = 6	7 = 7	8 = 8
	9 = Extremely Radical / Liberal		
(8) Part B, Q1-67	0 = No Response	1 = Strongly Disagree	2 = Disagree
	3 = Neutral	4 = Agree	5 = Strongly Agree
(9) Part B, Q68	1 = Students at Universities in Australia		
	2 = Students at Universities in Japan		

6.6 DATA ANALYSIS

It has been pointed out that there are four aspects of data analysis: categorising, synthesising, searching for patterns and interpreting the collected data (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). While coding the data as described above, these four elements were built up on an ongoing basis in the memo writing and analytic file.

A dilemma arising in the process of data analysis is whether organising the research inductively means that data analysis should be conducted inductively as well. The answer is that 'creating cross-classification matrices is an exercise in logic' (Patton, 1987, p. 155).

This procedure involves creating potential categories by crossing one dimension or typology with another, and then working back and forth between the data and one's logical constructions, filling in the resulting matrix (Patton, 1987, p. 155).

If they can overcome the difficulties encountered by foreign language learners in referring to euphemistic expressions, it means that the foreign language learners have advanced further towards becoming highly communicative competent language users. Canale's four-component model of communicative competence explains the importance of 'grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence' (as cited in Nunan, 1992, p. 85). In regard to this research on euphemism, in which highly competent foreign language learners are targeted, the sociolinguistic element becomes the key issue to be investigated. This research methodology seems to contrast with William Labov's *observer's paradox*, which is that 'sociolinguistic research is to find out how people behave when they are not being systematically observed, but the data can be obtained only through systematic observation' (as cited in Nunan, 1992, p. 63), but focusing on a single field and a particular euphemistic term will result in an explicit and fruitful outcome to indicate the indicators of competence in the use of euphemistic expressions.

6.7 ETHICAL ISSUES

This study was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Tasmania and conducted according to the criteria designed by them.⁶ This section will describe these ethical considerations.

Euphemisms are sometimes related to implicit issues, including taboo and sensitiveness. When discussing these issues, the words relating them need to be introduced, whether or not people prefer to do so or agree with the idea of the free usage of the particular terms in the society. Therefore, it was understandable that asking questions about various kinds of euphemistic terms related to taboo and sensitive issues might result in participants' discomfort. However, it was also the focus of the study to find out how foreign language learners perceived euphemistic terms, so that it was necessary to include these problematic terms. In obtaining permission to administer the questionnaire and the interview, a general explanation of taboo and sensitive issues contained in the questions was given to the participants. It was ensured that participants' were free to withdraw from participating in the questionnaire and the interview at any time during the process.

Participants in this research were consenting volunteers and were sufficiently informed about the nature and purpose of the research. In order to ensure clear understanding and interpretation of the nature and the purpose of the research, an information sheet was written in English for Australian participants and in Japanese for Japanese participants and given to the participants before conducting the questionnaires and the interviews. This information sheet was read aloud to the participants before conducting the questionnaires and/or participants were asked to read it before the interviews. Information about the general research nature, purpose and ethical concerns was presented in advance to the candidates when the researcher contacted them to request their participation in the study.

⁶ Ethical Approval No: H00006365. Date Approved: 4 December 2001.

It is also important to protect participants' confidentiality. All information gathered and material such as returned questionnaires and recorded tapes were coded and accessible only to the chief investigator and the researcher. Coding J1 to J10 for Japanese English language learners and A1 to A10 for Australian Japanese language learners was used to protect the participants' privacy rights.

Although anonymity and flexible interview questions may have meant that the interview sometimes becomes too personal and too detailed, Seidman (1998) reminds us that it is necessary to offer the opportunity for free access for participants to resources such as copies of the audio-tapes, entire information, report and thesis before publishing and to delete any information with which they were uncomfortable. In other words, it was taken extremely seriously that '... the researcher has to balance conflicting claims' (Seidman, 1998, p. 54).

Another point to be considered is that the researcher's background, as a language learner and teacher, is not supposed to be fully disclosed to the participants until the end of the interview. Although all participants were expected to share the full details of what they wished to express, they might have left something unspoken and/or not explained clearly if they were aware of the researcher's expertise, on the assumption that he already knew this information. Therefore it was decided not to disclose full information about the researcher's background. At the same time, however, participants have a right to know the researcher's full background and intention for conducting research. Therefore after the interview, this information regarding the researcher and the explanation for the lack of personal information before the interview was provided.

A consent form was prepared specifically for the participants in this study. The form was translated into Japanese for Japanese participants and was explained verbally by the researcher before conducting the questionnaires. Regarding the interviews, each participant was asked to read and fill in the form, and the participants' verbal agreement was sought.

6.8 RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

This study supplies significant information over a range of disciplines: applied linguistics, intercultural communication, socioculturally motivated issues including prejudice and discrimination, and second/foreign language education including TESOL and LOTE.

As for applied linguistics and intercultural communication, this study explores the function of euphemism and concept of the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of the use of the euphemism in contact situations from both native and non-native speakers' perspectives. Korzybski's ideology *general semantics* was used as a basis for the theoretical stance of the study because it corresponds with the human perspective and behaviour models (as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966). A study related to euphemism requires monitoring a range of perspectives voiced by numerous scholars and their literal arguments on the general semantics theory over the spheres of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives due to the close linkage of the theory with the euphemism.

This attempt consequently leads to scrutiny of sociocultural motivation including areas such as politeness strategies and social factors such as linguistic restriction. Since language restriction can be broad and interdisciplinary, this thesis on euphemism places emphasis on genres such as discrimination, and human perception towards the use of euphemism.

This, however, is not the only significance of this thesis. Another significance is its contribution to the sociolinguistic as well as the psycholinguistic aspect of second language learners' use of euphemism. This research would implicate the linguistic salience and intercultural communicative strategy between Australians learning Japanese and Japanese learning English as second/foreign languages. The outcomes provide some valuable indicators of characteristic use of euphemisms applied in the second/foreign language for both teachers and students targeting English and Japanese. Moreover, highly recommendable pragmatic strategies and approaches will be suggested at the end of this thesis.

6.9 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

As pointed out earlier in this thesis, it was almost impossible to identify the clear differences between each euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak and therefore some duplication occurred across these areas. Also their usage in English and Japanese could be lexically, connotatively and denotatively observed very often. In addition, most significantly, the outcomes of the research were very much dependent upon the participants' personal backgrounds. In other words, knowledge of the particular terms does not secure the correct use of the terms. As Klerk (1992) notes, the existence of a lexical imbalance means that there is also an imbalance in the *knowledge of* and *use of* such terms. It did not seem to be possible to make generalisations about the research outcomes and data collection under this research paradigm. Therefore this research result presents significant insights into the use of euphemisms by Australian Japanese learners and Japanese English learners, but it does not claim to be an all-inclusive description of this issue.

Another limitation to be pointed out is concerned with the lexical selection for the questionnaire. Each language contains its own character and uniqueness so that many equivalent terms in a language cannot be found in another. Many euphemistic terms create this dilemma. Thus English euphemisms introduced in the Questionnaire Type A are not exactly the same as, but similar to, Japanese euphemisms in the Questionnaire Type B, so that it became possible in this thesis to make comparisons between the two.

Moreover, it is ideal to compare and contrast the information gathered from the precise same criteria of the participants. Considering the conditions of the interviews, however, problems arose due to the difficulty in finding access to the required 10 Australians who had been staying over 12 months as university students in Japan and met the necessary criteria for competence with the Japanese language. Therefore, the requirement for them to be current students of Japanese was relaxed and they were accepted as long as they were Australians using English as their first language who had previously met the requirement of having Japanese language ability of 3rd year university (or equivalent) level, and had stayed in the target country for 12 months or more.

As a consequence of difficulties associated with identifying suitable participants, the small numbers of participants could be a further limitation of the study. It is generally accepted in research that the greater the number of participants involved, the more precise the expected outcome. Still the limited number of participants, that is 400 for the questionnaires and 20 for the interviews, does seem not to be a pitfall and is sufficient for the purpose of this study. As this kind of accountability is endorsed by Romaine (1994, p. 37):

Most of the studies of societal bilingualism have taken the nation-state as their reference point, and have relied on census data to determine the linguistic composition of these units. However, it must be remembered that large-scale surveys and census statistics will yield quite a different perspective on questions of language use from detailed case studies.

6.10 PILOT STUDY

A pilot study was conducted before the full implementation of the questionnaire and the interview. Conceptually, the aim of a pilot study is to detect and improve weaknesses in the research design that can affect the procedure, such as ambiguous questions in either questionnaire or interview. Advantages of a pilot study are manifold. For example, it enables a researcher to confirm the appropriate research structure, to explore the best way to contact the participants such as making an appointment, and to oversee the research procedures. After the study was completed, another and major advantage can be seen, which is that the researcher can review the whole research approach and rework the research design for the last time before entering the main research (Burns, 2000; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Leedy, 1997; Mason, 1996; Seidman, 1998; Walliam, 2001). It is also possible to incorporate advice from third parties and make adjustments to the questions and research styles (Mason, 1996). Due to modifications made after the pilot study, a well-developed material and research procedure could be expected in the main research. Naturally, the practice of the pilot study created the opportunity to enhance the validity and reliability of the main research (Burns, 2000).

The fact that it was a pilot study and not the main research, as well as the purpose for the pilot study, was made clear to pilot study participants. All the techniques to be

introduced in the main questionnaire and interview, concerning the types of questions, note taking, audio recording and so forth, were implemented in this pilot study. The section below describes the pilot studies for the pilot questionnaire and interview.

6.10.1 Pilot Questionnaire

For the pilot questionnaire, 10 native speakers of Japanese and 10 Australians who are native speakers of English were asked to participate. Both groups of participants were university students and scholars such as lecturers and researchers who had experience in academic research and had involvement with universities in Australia. Marginalia was invited from the participants as well as their suggestions for addition or improvement of the questions. Also, the questionnaires were distributed with comment sheets so that the participants could share their recommendations and endorsements for the final version of the questionnaires, not only regarding the contents of the questions but also general and personal hints. There was no time limit for completing this trial questionnaire.

6.10.1.1 Period of the Pilot Questionnaires

The pilot questionnaire was completed in the first two weeks in December 2001. During this period the pilot questionnaire and pilot data collection took place. None of the data collected from the pilot questionnaire were used in the main study. It was important to assume that the pilot questionnaire was conducted under the same conditions as the main research because it was the final opportunity to for the development of the main research preparation.

6.10.1.2 Adjustment to the Final Version of the Questionnaire

After conducting the pilot questionnaire, some useful suggestions were made. A number of pilot participants made comments that the questionnaire could be more sufficiently and efficiently operated if it was organised by a computer-assisted research conducting system, utilising a personal web site and e-mail, rather than the printed questionnaire. Although the computer-assisted research conducting system seems to be reliable and can attain a large number of responses with time efficiency, it may face some difficulties.

One of these may be indiscrepancies in participants' familiarity with computers. This could lead to a bias in potential participants perhaps restricting the respondents to academically confident, white-collar, or city living people, or students (Sugimoto, 2000). Having considered this, the questionnaire was conducted by the printed hand-out style, as originally planned.

In the pilot questionnaire the first amendment recommended by several pilot study participants was in the second column of the Pilot Questionnaire Guide, which can be seen below. The lines bold-faced are the problematic points.

This questionnaire is about the concept 'euphemism' with which you may not be familiar. Here is a brief explanation about it to help you with answering the questionnaire. Broadly speaking, euphemism is the use of words/expressions to replace the ones which can be seen as crude, embarrassing or conveying negative connotations to the listener, eg, **prostitute: *street worker*, fart with *break wind*, and black people: *coloured people* etc.**

It was pointed out that examples of the euphemistic items presented might not be distinctively recognisable as neutral and euphemistic items such as prostitute: *street worker*, fart: *break wind*, and black people: *coloured people*. Especially the first and the third pairs were less effectively demonstrations of the connotative distinction, and the areas and/or similar items were covered in the core questionnaire, so that the first pair was rendered to prostitute: *hooker* and the third as one is pregnant: *one is expecting*. Accordingly, the slight adjustment was also made regarding the same line in the Japanese version. The pilot study contained the examples such as prostitute (*baishunfu*): *street worker (shoufu)*, fart (*onara*): *break wind (gasu)* and black people (*kokujin*): *coloured people (yuushokujin)*, whereas the final version showed garbage island (*gominoshima*): *dream island (yumenoshima)*, fart (*onara*): *break wind (gasu)* and one is pregnant (*ninshin*): *one is expecting ((go)kainin)*. Although the first and the third examples presented in the Japanese version differed from those in the English versions, they were not included in the main question set but in the Questionnaire Guide, so would not have affected the participants' attitudes, and were considered to function as examples in Japanese and English. In the final English version, the column can be seen as below.

This questionnaire is about the concept 'euphemism' with which you may not be familiar. Here is a brief explanation about it to help you in answering the questionnaire. Broadly speaking, euphemism is the use of words/expressions to replace ones which might be seen as crude, embarrassing or as conveying negative connotations to the listener. For example, *prostitute can be replaced by hooker, fart with break wind and one is pregnant with one is expecting* etc.⁷

Another problematic element existed in Part A: Demographic Information. Several pilot participants commented that the use of bracketed letters seemed to have less impact for the questionnaire. Therefore, the brackets were diffused and only alphabetical letters were presented in front of the each section to be circled. Also, No 6, the participants' judgement of their own ability of Japanese/English as a foreign language, and No 7, judgement of their own personal character, were pointed out as problematic elements by the majority of the pilot participants. They indicated that confusion could occur due to the mixture of the connotative and denotative sense and various considerable contexts. In order to moderate these difficulties, visual scale systems containing visual description with numbers and arrow marks were introduced to enhance the self-evaluation process. Compare the difference before and after the adjustment made for the No 6 and No 7 in Part A: Demographic Information.

Pilot Study version of Part A: Demographic Information

6. What is the most appropriate description of your Japanese language ability?

- (a) None
- (b) Beginner
- (c) Lower intermediate
- (d) Intermediate
- (e) Upper intermediate
- (f) Advanced

7. What is the most appropriate description of yourself?

- (a) Very Conservative
- (b) Conservative
- (c) Ordinary
- (d) Radical
- (e) Very Radical
- (f) Unsure

⁷ See Appendix 2.

Final version of Part A: Demographic Information

6. Please rank your Japanese language ability by putting a circle around the appropriate number in the scale below. The larger the number is, the higher advanced you are. Namely, 1 for None and 9 for Extremely Fluent.

NoneExtremely
Fluent

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

7. Please put a circle around the number in the scale below which best describes yourself in terms of socio-political attitude. The larger number is, the more liberal you are. Namely, 1 for Very Conservative and 9 for Extremely Radical/Liberal.⁸

Very
ConservativeExtremely
Radical/Liberal

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Furthermore, overall ambiguous and less clearly indicated statements and their parts were designated to employ the amendment. It was especially noteworthy at the stage of the pilot study to direct attention to following questions.

- Q51 *People should use polite language when talking to foreigners in our first language.*
- Q52 *People should use polite language when talking to foreigners in our second language.*

The quandaries were: How should the participant categorise the term *foreigners*? What does the term *our* refer to in this statement? Descriptions of the first language and second language could be falsified from participants' diverse standpoints. Therefore, *our* was converted to *their* in order to accentuate the participant's point of view as a third person, and concrete description was added by the way of the example. Following are the statements of Q51 and Q52 shown in Part B in the final version of the questionnaire.⁹

⁸ See Appendix 3

⁹ See Appendix 4.

- Q51 People should use polite language when talking to foreigners in their first language. (In other words, native speakers of English should use polite English when talking to non-native speakers of English.)
- Q52 People should use polite language when talking to foreigners in their second or another language. (In other words, native speakers of English should use Japanese or another language spoken by the communicators in a polite way when talking to Japanese people.)

6.10.2 Pilot Interview

As well as the pilot questionnaire, pilot interviews were also carried out with three native speakers of Japanese in Australia who were extremely fluent in English in Australia, and with three native speakers of English in Australia who could speak Japanese language at a highly advanced level. The pilot study was an opportunity to improve the main research procedure so the format was as similar to the main interview as possible. Participants' individual opinions were requested after the whole procedure ended.

6.10.2.1 Period of the Pilot Interviews

The pilot interview and data collection were also conducted during the same period of the pilot questionnaire, the first two weeks in December 2001. Not all the data collected from the pilot interview were utilised for the application of the main study. The pilot interview was organised as far as possible under the same conditions as the main study.

6.10.2.2 Adjustment to the Final Version of the Interview

The semi-structured style seemed to be suitable, but it was necessary to make adjustments to the recruitment of the appropriate number of Australian participants in Japan meeting the criteria due to limited number of suitable candidates available. By targeting, with official permission, people involved in a program organised by the Japanese and Australia governments for sending Australian people to Japan, it became possible to access the required number for the interview.

6.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the procedures for organising and conducting the research, along with this thesis main theme: euphemism. There were many important factors to be taken into account. It showed how these factors were addressed to ensure the rigour of the research design. The following Chapter 7 presents the analysis and interpretation of the questionnaire outcomes.

CHAPTER 7

QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

As explained so far, this study uses two different research methods: quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interviews). This chapter describes the data collected by the quantitative method. Questionnaires were used to gather descriptive information referring to RO2 and RO3 of the four Research Objectives (RO). Following are clear descriptions of these ROs, and it should be noted that *the target group* in RO3 refers to the native speakers of the target language for this chapter.

- RO2: To investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism.
- RO3: To examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts.

RO2 concentrated on the following variables derived from Part B in the questionnaire (abbreviated as B-Q): B-Q7-17 and 19-56. In addition, the exemplar for RO3 was derived from the mainstream responses to the following variables: B-Q1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8-67. Examination of these research objects produced answers to some aspects of the research aim: first, to investigate the euphemistic functions of English and Japanese from a contrastive analysis perspective and second, to elicit the views of Japanese English-language speakers (English as a second/foreign language) and Australian Japanese-language speakers (Japanese as a second/foreign language) on euphemism, which may have implications for language education. The aim did not include collecting extensive euphemistic vocabulary items and expressions, or shaping the statistical evidence to prove a hypothesis. Thus this study was conducted using questionnaires and interviews.

The following sections will discuss the demographic data derived from the questionnaire given to two participants groups, explain the procedure of analysis, describe the rationale of the demographic variables, and offer a comparison between the demographic variables and the euphemistic variables. Following this, the chapter will begin to describe the responses to the questionnaires and offer a general interpretation, concentrating on RO2 and RO3.¹

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Researchers should not expect to gain a 100% response rate. In fact, a response rate close to 100% does not necessarily imply that the outcome of the questionnaires is considered to be trustworthy. However, a survey having a large proportion of non-respondents might potentially result in significantly different outcomes and cause errors, especially if the non-respondents responded to parts of questions, or left some questions out, while responding fully to others (Jaffe & Spirer, 1987).

In this research, altogether, 499 questionnaires (including 448 with countable answers) were returned to the researcher. The response rate of the questionnaires for Students of Universities in Australia (SUA) was nearly one-third (35.3%, 176/499), which included 13 respondents who answered that they were undertaking a community service/study course at university. This fairly low response rate was due to the fact that there are 67 mainstream questions, which required a large amount of the participants' time to complete, as well as considerable concentration. Although 200 participants were originally targeted, the researcher sensed at the early stage of organising the questionnaire distribution that it was not feasible to obtain a sufficient number of responses from 200 participants. As Jaffe and Spirer (1987) suggest, confidence in the findings requires a high response rate, and simultaneously, cases with high non-response rates produce inadequate outcomes and difficulties in proceeding with further investigation. In this study, to ensure a sufficient response rate, a large number of total participants (499) were asked to complete the questionnaire. Of these only 176 responded, but this was considered to be a sufficient number.

¹ The remaining research object, RO4 will be investigated exclusively by interviews as in Chapter 8.

As for Students of Universities in Japan (SUJ), lecturers in several universities in Japan administered the questionnaires to their students. Lecturers were encouraged to administer questionnaires to as many students as possible. However, insufficient time was allowed for the different school systems and yearly schedules, so that accuracy of the responses obtained remained unclear. Nevertheless, the lecturers' prompt organisation and participants' favourable support lead to returns of a total of 272 questionnaires from Japanese participants. It should be accentuated that this total number included one who did not reveal his/her demographic information, as well as the eight participants who were undertaking a non-credit course offered by a university (Figure 7.1).

448 questionnaires, which included responses from 174 Males (38.8%), 270 Females (60.3%), and four participants (0.9%) who did not indicate their gender, were collected. The numbers and percentages of each age category are identified in Figure 7.2, summarised as follows: (a) 16-20 (57.1%, 256/448), followed by (b) 21-25 (27.5%, 123/448), (c) 26-30 (3.8%, 17/448), (e) 36-40 (3.1%, 14/448), (f) 41-45 (2.7%, 12/448), (d) 31-35 (2.2%, 10/448), (g) 46-50 (1.6%, 7/448), and (h) over 50 (1.3%, 6/448).

Figure 7.1

SUA/SUJ Ratio of Total Participants

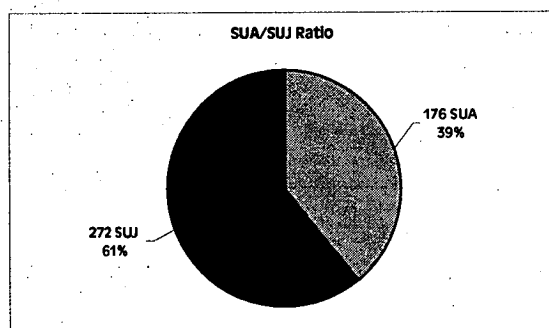


Figure 7.2

Gender Ratio and Age Categories of Total Participants

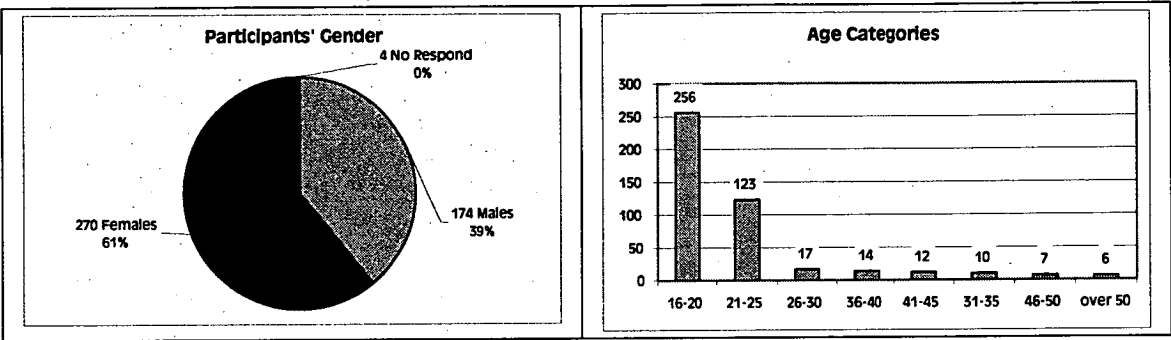


Figure 7.3 shows the percentages of respondents according to their first language. First language was identified as Japanese (56.9%, 255/448), English (35.9%, 161/448), Korean (0.7%, 3/448), or Cantonese, Mandarin, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, or Thai (each of these languages was spoken by 1/448, 0.2%, respectively). There were three participants (0.7%) who specified their first language as neither Japanese nor English, but failed to specify what it was, and one participant (0.2%) who indicated his language as American English. This contradiction will be analysed in Section 7.2.1.2. In addition, 18 participants (4%) did not respond to this question.

Figure 7.3

Total Participants' First Language

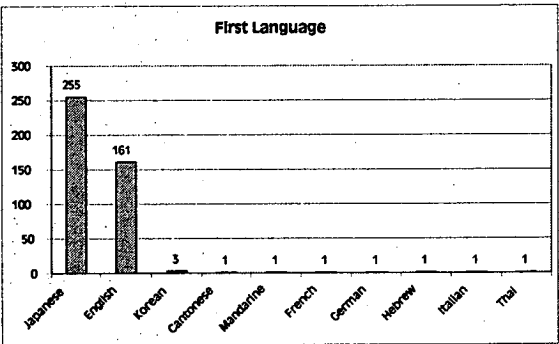
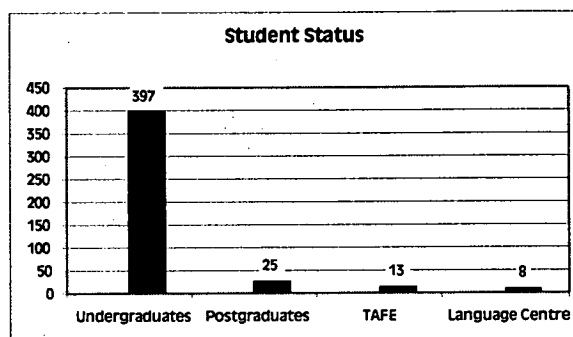


Figure 7.4 indicates that 88.6% (397/448) of the participants were undergraduate students, while 5.6% (25/448) were involved in university postgraduate courses; 2.9% (13/448) were in Technical and Further Education (TAFE), and 1.8% (8/448) were studying at the University Language Centre at the time the questionnaires were conducted. No response was given by a small number of participants (1.1%, 5/448).

Figure 7.4**Total Participants' Student Status**

A wide range of coding was used to distinguish the faculty to which participants belonged (Figure 7.1). One-third of them were from the Faculty of Arts (29%, 130/448), followed by the Faculty of Education (16.5%, 74/448), the Faculty of Arts & Science (9.2%, 41/448), the Faculty of Economics (7.1%, 32/448), the Faculty of Foreign Languages (6.5%, 29/448), the Faculty of Science & Engineering (4.9%, 22/448), the Faculty of Health Science (3.8%, 17/448), TAFE & Community Service (2.7%, 12/448), the Faculty of International Relations (2.5%, 11/448), the Faculty of Commerce (2.2%, 10/448), the University Language Centre (1.8%, 8/448), the Faculty of Law (1.6%, 7/448), a Combination of Arts and Commerce (1.3%, 6/448), the Faculty of Management (0.9%, 4/448), a Combination of Arts and Law (0.9%, 4/448), the School of Physics (0.7%, 3/448), a Combination of Arts and Education (0.4%, 2/448), the Faculty of Hospitality (0.2%, 1/448), a Combination of Arts and Science & Engineering (0.2%, 1/448), the School of International Cultural Studies (0.2%, 1/448), and Year 12 (0.2%, 1/448). The percentage of respondents who did not identify their faculty but ticked the 'other' section was 5.1% (23/448), and no response was given by nine participants (2%).

Table 7.1**Faculties of Total Participants**

Faculty (or School)	Participants NO / 448	Percentage
Arts	130	29%
Education	74	16.5%
Arts & Science	41	9.2%
Economy	32	7.1%
Foreign Languages	29	6.5%
Science & Engineering	22	4.9%
Health Science	17	3.8%
TAFE & Community Service	12	2.7%
International Relations	11	2.5%
Commerce	10	2.2%
University Language Centre	8	1.8%
Law	7	1.6%
Arts and Commerce	6	1.3%
Management	4	0.9%
Arts and Law	4	0.9%
Physics	3	0.7%
Arts and Education	2	0.4%
Hospitality	1	0.2%
Arts and Science & Engineering	1	0.2%
School of International Cultural Studies	1	0.2%
Year 12	1	0.2%
Others	32	7.1%

Although the demographic outcomes of both the target groups of Australian and Japanese participants has been described, it is not relevant here to demonstrate the outcome of the section about Language Ability (Japanese for those at university in Australia and English for those in Japan), and Socio-Political Attitudes which are both reflective of social tendencies and cultural distinctiveness. They will be discussed later, where findings regarding the demographic information are used to compare and contrast the difference between both Australian and Japanese university groups.²

7.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO PARTICIPATING GROUPS

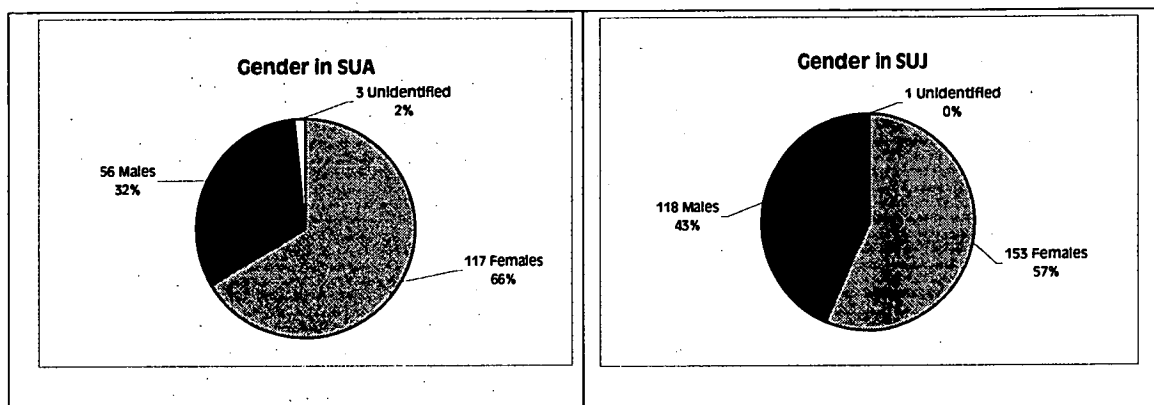
Figure 7.5 represents the gender ratio of the two participating groups. The majority of SUA responding to the returned questionnaires were female (66.5%, 117/176), compared with males (31.8%, 56/176). The gender of three respondents (1.7%, 3/176) was unidentified. Among the participants at Japanese universities (= SUJ) who returned

² Discussion will be made in Section 7.5.2.

questionnaires to the researcher, over one-half (56.3%, 153/272) were females. Males represented 43.4% (118/272) and gender was unidentified in 0.4% of responses (1/272).

Figure 7.5

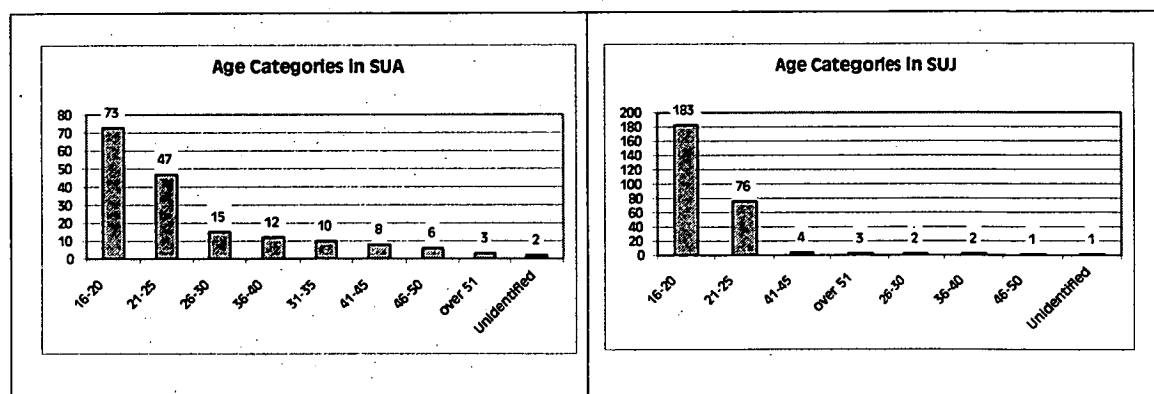
Comparison of Gender Ratio for SUA and SUJ



Age categories of SUA and SUJ were summarised in Figure 7.6. The largest age category for Australian university participants was 16-20 (41.5%, 73/176), followed by 21-25 (26.7%, 47/176), 26-30 (8.5%, 15/176), 36-40 (6.8%, 12/176), 31-35 (5.7%, 10/176), 41-45 (4.5%, 8/176), 46-50 (3.4%, 6/176) and over 51 (1.7%, 3/176). Two participants (1.1%, 2/176) did not identify their age range. The dominant group in the age categories for the Japanese participants was 16-20 (67.3%, 183/272), followed by 21-25 (27.9%, 76/272), 41-45 (1.5%, 4/272), over 51 (1.1%, 3/272), 26-30 (0.7%, 2/272) and 36-40 (0.7%, 2/272, respectively), and 46-50 (0.4%, 1/272). One respondent (0.4%, 1/253) did not reveal his/her age, and there was no Japanese participant in category: 31-35 for this questionnaire.

Figure 7.6

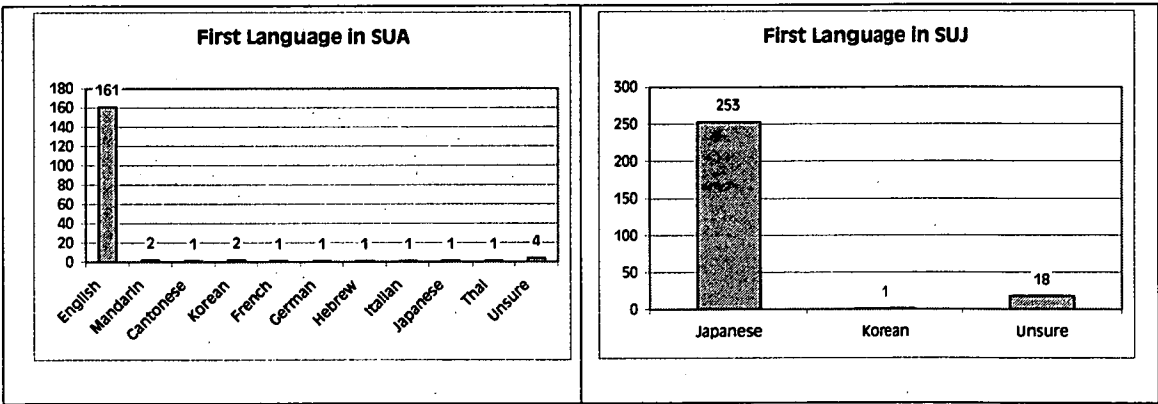
Comparison of Age Categories for SUA and SUJ



The large majority of participants (91.5%, 161/176) at Australian universities use English as their first language. Other first languages in use include: three Chinese (1.7%, 3/176), of which two were Mandarin (1.1%, 2/176) and one Cantonese (0.6%, 1/176), two Korean first language speakers (1.1%, 2/176), as well as one of each in the following languages: French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese and Thai (0.6%, 1/176, respectively). 1 (0.6%) respondent indicated that his/her first language is not English but did not identify what it was, and 3 (1.7%) left this space blank. In terms of the questionnaires administered in the universities in Japan, Japanese is the first language of the large majority of participants (93%, 253/272), except one who identified Korean as her first language (0.4%, 1/272) and a small number who did not specify, including 15 (5.5%, 15/272) who gave no indication, two (0.7%, 2/272) who did not specify what their first language was, and one (0.4%, 1/272) who indicated that his first language was not Japanese but English/American English. In the following section, referring to English language ability, this respondent marked 4 out of 9 different scales; which suggested to the researcher that English was not his first language in spite of his response. This instance could also broadly imply that the 17 participants (15 for *No Response*, and the two for *Entered but Unidentified*) might have been confused by the term *daiichi gengo* (*first language*) in Japanese, which could have been interpreted as *the language they speak* apart from *bokokugo* (*mother tongue*) (see Figure 7.7 for the summary).

Figure 7.7

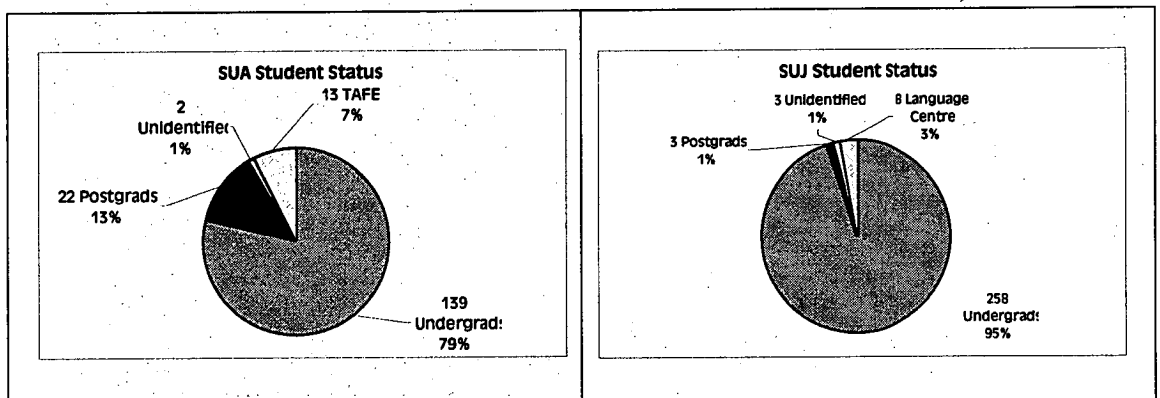
Comparison of First Language for SUA and SUJ



Consider Figure 7.8. At the time the questionnaires were conducted, the majority of the participants in Australia (79%, 139/176) were undergraduate students studying at a university. The remaining participants were postgraduates (12.5%, 22/176) or unidentified (1.1%, 2/176), in addition to 13 TAFE students (7.4%) who were attending a course held in a university campus. As for Japanese participants, most (94.9%, 258/272) were undergraduate students, in contrast with the small percentage (1.1%, 3/272) of postgraduates. The remaining 11 participants comprised two categories: one for student classification unidentified (1.1%, 3/272), and another for the eight participants (2.9%, 8/272) who were undertaking a non-credit English language course offered by a university. Consequently, A-Q5: participants' faculty, was inappropriate for these from TAFE and English Language Centre.

Figure 7.8

Student Status for SUA and SUJ



Less than one-third of SUA (27.8%, 49/176) belonged to the Faculty of Education, followed by the Faculty of Arts (27.3%, 48/176), the Faculty of Science and Engineering (12.5%, 22/176), the Faculty of Health Science (9.7%, 17/176), the Faculty of Commerce (5.1%, 9/176) and the Faculty of Law (1.1%, 2/176). Double-majoring is quite common in Australia, unlike Japan. It is notable from the results above that less than 13 participants responding to the questionnaires identified themselves as double-majoring students, including the combination of the Faculty of Arts and Commerce (3.4%, 6/176), Arts and Law (2.3%, 4/176), Arts and Education (1.1%, 2/176), and Arts and Science and Engineering (0.6%, 1/176). Among the participants, a small percentage (6.8%, 12/176) were undertaking a course (community service study) at a tertiary

institution, which is related to TAFE credit, while one Year-12 student (0.6%, 1/176) was undertaking a course at university and two (1.1%, 2/176) did not specify (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2

Faculties of SUA

Faculty (or School)	Participants NO / 176	Percentage
Education	49	27.8%
Arts	48	27.3%
Arts & Science	41	9.2%
Science & Engineering	22	12.5%
Health Science	17	9.7%
Commerce	9	5.1%
Law	2	1.1%
Arts and Commerce	6	3.4%
Arts and Law	4	2.3%
Arts and Education	2	1.1%
Arts and Science & Engineering	1	0.6%
TAFE & Community Service	12	6.8%
Year 12	1	0.6%
Others	2	1.1%

Further explanation might be required here, in terms of the faculty categorisation of questionnaire participants in Japan. Most universities in Japan combine considerably dichotomised academic fields into one faculty, under a single name. A notable example is *bunrigakubu*, which is a united faculty related to literary works, similar to the Faculty of Arts in Australian universities. Similarly, Faculty of Science and Engineering belongs to a single faculty incorporating subjects related to similar fields (and this can also be observed within various different schools such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Environment, Geography, and so forth). This system makes these faculties distinct from their counterparts in Australia. Many participants provided their details not only about their faculty but also their school. In this instance, these details will be described as given, in order to avoid confusion, which could potentially become a source of error for the later sections, especially the research analysis.

Almost one-third (30.1%, 82/272) identified that they belonged to the Faculty of Arts (*Bungakubu*), which includes: History, Japanese Literature, Physics, Chinese/Chinese culture, etc. The next largest group was composed of *Bunrigakubu* (16.2%, 41/272), a

single faculty blending Arts and Science, which includes: Japanese Literature, English Literature, German Literature, Philosophy, German Literature, and Chinese Literature. Third was the Faculty of Economics (11.8%, 32/272), followed by the Faculty of Foreign Languages (10.7%, 29/272), and Faculty of Education (9.2%, 25/272). Minority groups were in the Faculty of International Relations: English and American Culture (4%, 11/272), the Faculty of Law (1.8%, 5/272), the Faculty of Management (1.5%, 4/272), the Faculty of Hospitality (0.4%, 1/272), and the Faculty of Commerce (0.4%, 1/272). Others included those from the university owned language centre (2.9%, 8/272), and School of Physics (0.7%, 2/272), School of International Cultural Studies (0.4%, 1/272), who were both unable to identify their faculty, in addition to 23 participants (8.5%) who indicated that they belonged to a faculty which was not described in the questionnaire and seven (2.6%) who were non-committal (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3**Faculties of SUJ**

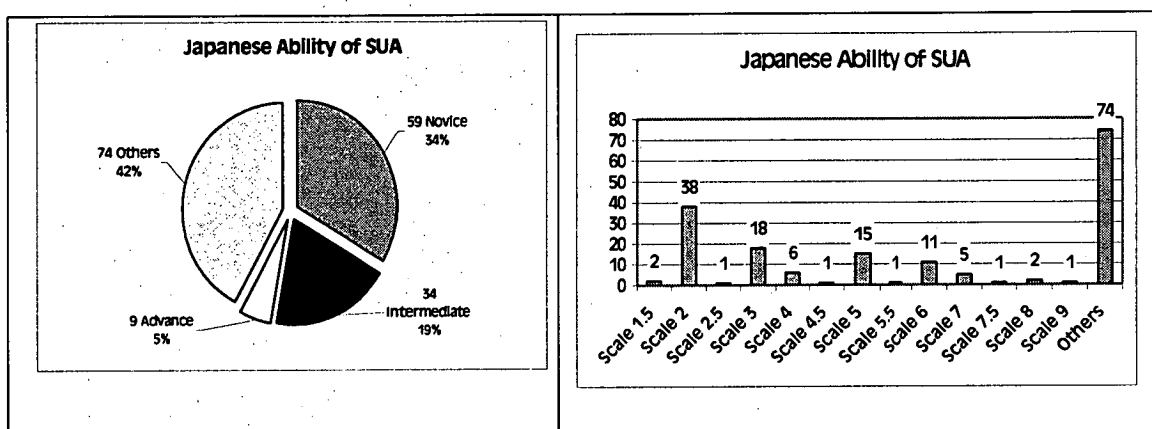
Faculty (or School)	Participants NO / 272	Percentage
Arts	82	30.1%
Arts & Science	41	16.2%
Economics	32	11.8%
Foreign Languages	29	10.7%
Education	25	9.2%
International Relations	11	4%
Law	5	1.8%
Management	4	1.5%
Hospitality	1	0.4%
University Language Centre	8	2.9%
School of Physics	2	0.7%
School of International Cultural Studies	1	0.4%
Others	30	11.1%

Less than one-half (41.5%, 73/176) of the total SUA who returned the questionnaires to the researcher were non-Japanese speakers, albeit over one-half (57.9%, 102/176) had some Japanese ability, despite the fact that their levels covered a broad range of competence. The individual Japanese ability was reported by self-ranking from 1 (none) to 9 (extremely fluent), and divided into three levels: novice, intermediate, and advanced. The major group (33.5%, 59/176) was at the novice level, including those scaled 2 (21.6%, 38/176), 3 (10.2%, 18/176), 1.5 (1.1%, 2/176) to 2.5 (0.6%, 1/176). One-third (19.4%, 34/176) belonged to the intermediate level, including the scale

specified as 5 (8.5%, 15/176), 6 (6.3%, 11/176), 4 (3.4%, 6/176), 4.5 (0.6%, 1/176), and 5.5 (0.6%, 1/176). A small percentage (5.1%, 9/176) had an advanced level of Japanese ability, specified on the Scale 7 (2.8%, 5/176), 8 (1.1%, 2/176), 7.5 (0.6%, 1/176), and 9 (0.6%, 1/176). It was not surprising that the participant who ranked 9 on the scale was a native speaker of Japanese language, studying at a university in Australia at the time the questionnaires were organised, as explained above (see Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9

Japanese Language Ability of SUA

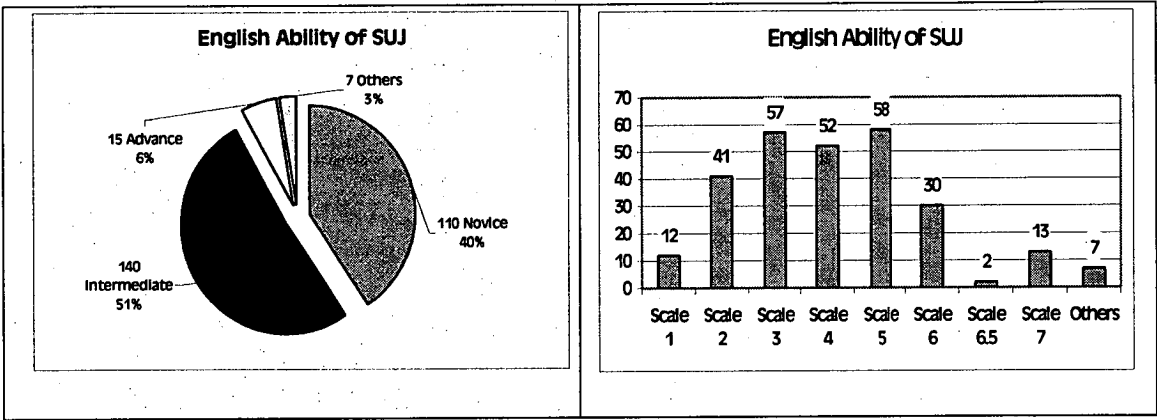


An individual self-ranking system (ranging from 1 to 9) was also introduced in order to indicate the English language ability of SUJ. The Japanese educational system has compulsory education for nine years; primary school for six years and junior high school for three years. In addition, high school study for three years is not compulsory for students, however approximate 97% of junior high school graduates enter high school (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 107). In these nine-year educational stratifications, English is the only compulsory foreign language learnt, while other languages are not offered. This means that almost all university students have experienced the study of the English language for at least 12 years, yet less than one-half (40.5%, 110/272) of the participants commented that their English level is rudimentary, or Scale 1 to 3, including 57 participants who identified as Scale 3 (21%, 57/272). 41 identified themselves as Scale 2 (15.1%, 41/272), and 12 as Scale 1, referring to themselves as having no English language ability at all (4.4%, 12/272). Over one-half (51.5%, 140/272) of the participants expressed their concern at belonging to the intermediate level group: Scale 4

to 6 of these contains 58 participants identified as Scale 5 (21.3%, 58/272), 52 participants as Scale 4 (19.1%, 52/272), and 30 as Scale 6 (11%, 30/272). A very small percentage (5.5%, 15/272) of the participants identified themselves as being at advanced level: Scale 7 (4.8%, 13/ 272) and Scale 6.5 (0.7%, 2/272). Less than 3% (2.6%, 7/272) of respondents, including the one who did not fill in Part A, did not indicate their English language ability at all. In the category referring to advanced level of English, no participant signified Scale 8 or 9 (see Figure 7.10).

Figure 7.10

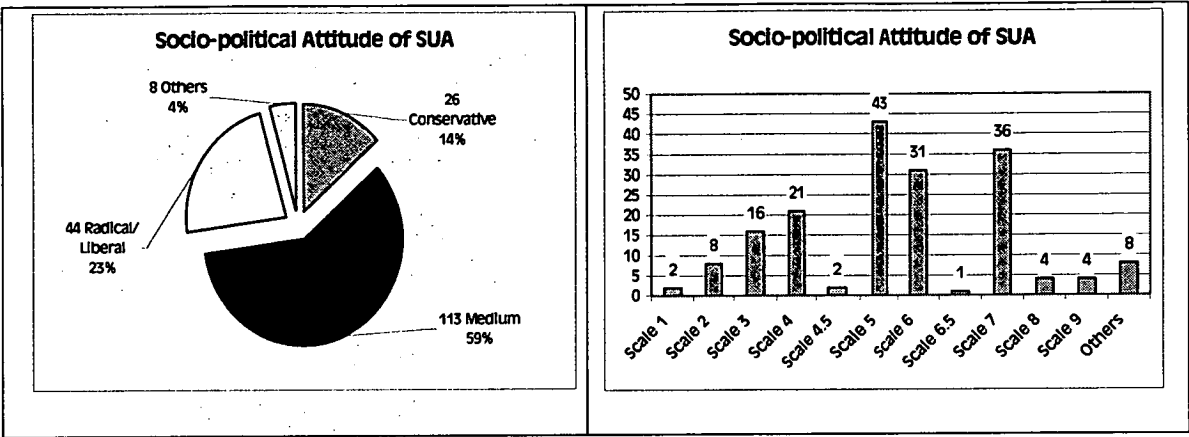
English Language Ability of SUJ



In the following question, participants' intuitive characteristics in terms of socio-political attitude were also sought by self-ranking on a scale of 1 to 9, where Scale 1 was Very Conservative and Scale 9 was Extremely Radical/Liberal (Figure 7.11). The majority (55.6%, 113/176) consisted of SUA who identified themselves as medium; Scale 5 (24.4%, 43/176), Scale 6 (17.6%, 31/176), Scale 4 (11.9%, 21/176), Scale 4.5 (1.1%, 2/176), and Scale 6.5 (0.6%, 1/176). The conservative group consisted of one-seventh of the participants (14.7%, 26/176), including 16 who identified themselves as Scale 3 (9.1%, 16/176), eight who identified themselves as Scale 2 (4.5%, 8/176), and two as Scale 1 (1.1%, 2/176). One-quarter (25.1%, 44/176) of the participants answered that they are radically and liberally active: Scale 7 (20.5%, 36/176), Scale 8(2.3%, 4/176), and Scale 9 (2.3%, 4/176). The remaining minority (4.5%, 8/176) was non-committal.

Figure 7.11

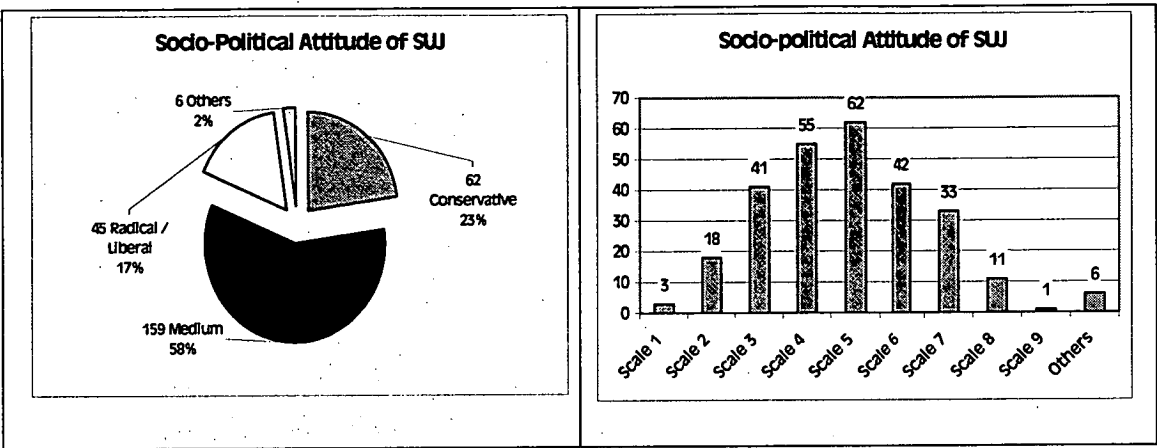
Socio-Political Attitudes of SUA



Questions regarding SUJ's intuitive characteristics in terms of socio-political attitude were designed in the same style as those given for SUA, by engaging with the scale rating system; Scale 1 indicating very conservative and Scale 9 referring to very radical and liberal as summarised in Figure 7.11. Over one-half (58.4%, 159/272) of the participants answered that their characteristics were neither extremely conservative nor radical. The details are as follows; 62 participants identified as Scale 5 (22.8%, 62/272), 55 participants as Scale 4 (20.2%, 55/272), and 42 as Scale 6 (15.4%, 42/272). Less than one-quarter (22.8%, 62/272) of the participants who responded to the questionnaires considered themselves to be conservative, including 41 participants who indicated Scale 3 (15.1%, 41/272), 18 as Scale 2 (6.6%, 18/272), and three participants who indicated Scale 1 (1.1%, 3/272). 45 participants (16.5% 45/272) considered that they have radical and liberal minds and attitudes, including 33 participants at Scale 7 (12.1%, 33/272), 11 at Scale 8 (4%, 11/272), and one at Scale 9 (0.4%, 1/272). The remaining six participants (2.2%, 6/272), including one who remained unidentified in the section of demographic information, did not answer this question (see Figure 7.12).

Figure 7.12

Socio-Political Attitudes of SUJ



7.4 PROCEDURE OF THE ANALYSIS

The data were examined according to the following stages: (1) Each demographic variable was rationalised for further investigation and some demographic variables were eliminated in order to narrow the focus of enquiry (Section 7.5). (2) Rationalised demographic variables were compared with the participants’ perceptions about the euphemisms in diverse settings demonstrated by the Likert scale (Section 7.6). Then, (3) critical analysis and interpretation were conducted based on numerical demonstration (Section 7.6). In the following sections, the structure of this model is described in chronological order.

7.5 RATIONALISING THE DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Stage (1) typically occurs if the questionnaires consist of a great number of variables which may potentially affect the core outcome, as in the case of Cattell who reduced over 4500 descriptors to 200 traits (George & Mallery, 2001, p. 232, 233). This procedure is not necessarily required for this study, due to the identification of seven variables in Part A: Demographic Information (A-Q) and 67 in Part B: Language and Non-Language Specific Questions (B-Q) in the questionnaire. However, significant association between the variables in Part A and Part B can contribute to more tenable and credible outcomes. Therefore, the reduction of the number of demographic variables

in Part A, with regard to their association with euphemistic variables with significant value in Part B, has been implemented.

Part A: Demographic Information was obtained by seven heterogeneous questions which asked participants' gender, age, first language, current student status, faculty, language ability (Japanese ability for participants at universities in Australia and English ability for those in Japan), and socio-political attitudes. In order to reduce the number of variables, the relation between independent variables (recognised as *demographic variables* in SPSS) and dependent variables (mainstream questions and participants' perceptions given in response) and significance of the items needed to be established. The approach taken here was a chi-squared analysis, the purpose of which was to search for relationships (lack of independence) between two categorical variables. If, at $p < .05$, '... the observed value for the cells deviate[d] significantly from the corresponding expected values for those cells' (George & Mallory, 2001, p. 95), then a relationship was deemed to exist and the variables were considered to be not independent.

Following is a description of the analysis conducted in the manner explained above, in order to reduce and target the number of demographic variables for further analysis in this study.

7.5.1 Outcomes for Rationalised Demographic Variables

Part B in the questionnaire, Language and Non-Language Questions, can be divided into five components: (I) euphemism in politeness and impoliteness (B-Q1 to 17), (II) the role of euphemism in our daily life (B-Q18 to 30), (III) euphemism and political correctness (PC) in discrimination, primarily in terms of gender, race, age, and disability (B-Q31 to 40), (IV) conceptualisation of euphemism, and attitude towards it (B-Q41 to 56), and (V) lexical perceptions on euphemism (B-Q57 to 67). These components were compared with each of the demographic variables: *A-Q1: Gender*, *A-Q2: Age*, *A-Q3: First Language*, *A-Q4: Current Student Status*, *A-Q5: Faculty*, *A-Q6: Language Ability*, and *A-Q7: Socio-Political Attitudes*, by extensively utilising Cross Tabulation for selection by the significance magnitude of chi-square analysis.

It can be seen that just above 20% of the significance level, $p < .05$ of the variables by the chi-square test, was associated with *A-Q1: Gender* (Table 7.4), whereas, only 22.4% of the variables (15/67) in Part B were regarded as having significant association.³

Table 7.4**Chi-Square Test with A-Q1**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q3	442 (98.7%)	.015
B-Q4	442 (98.7%)	.011
B-Q8	442 (98.7%)	.017
B-Q16	438 (97.8%)	.026
B-Q24	440 (98.2%)	.010
B-Q29	439 (98.0%)	.026
B-Q36	441 (98.4%)	.023
B-Q37	441 (98.4%)	.024
B-Q38	438 (97.8%)	.002
B-Q44	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q48	440 (98.2%)	.009
B-Q58	442 (98.7%)	.001
B-Q59	439 (98.0%)	.031
B-Q62	440 (98.2%)	.044
B-Q66	440 (98.2%)	.011

³ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 7.

A-Q2: Age shows a significant association with the variables in Part B, summarised in Table 7.5. 32.8% (22/67) of the variables in Part B have significant association with participants' target language ability. Numeric details of each significant item in response to the component are as follows: nine out of 17 variables were discovered in the politeness component, five out of 13 variables in the role of euphemism in our daily life component, two out of 10 variables in the euphemism and PC in the discrimination component, three out of 16 variables in the conceptualisation and attitude component, and three out of 11 variables in the lexical perception on euphemism component.⁴

Table 7.5

Chi-Square Test with A-Q2

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q2	445 (99.3%)	.000
B-Q6	442 (98.7%)	.006
B-Q9	441 (98.4%)	.002
B-Q10	441 (98.4%)	.009
B-Q13	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q14	439 (98.0%)	.001
B-Q15	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q16	439 (98.0%)	.000
B-Q17	439 (98.0%)	.000
B-Q20	441 (98.4%)	.009
B-Q24	441 (98.4%)	.044
B-Q27	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q28	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q30	440 (98.2%)	.040
B-Q32	438 (97.8%)	.012
B-Q40	441 (98.4%)	.035
B-Q41	438 (97.8%)	.025
B-Q45	442 (98.7%)	.015
B-Q49	442 (98.7%)	.004
B-Q63	442 (98.7%)	.000
B-Q64	439 (98.0%)	.049
B-Q67	442 (98.7%)	.024

⁴ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 8.

Summary of *A-Q3: First Language* can be viewed in Table 7.6. 41.8% of variables in Part B (28/67 items) were significant in terms of the association with the faculty to which participants belonged. Participants' first language linked significantly to ten out of 17 variables in the politeness component, five out of 13 variables in the role of euphemism in the daily life component, two out of ten variables in euphemism and PC in the discrimination component, six out of 16 variables in the conceptualisation and attitude component, and five out of 11 variables in lexical perception in the euphemism component.⁵

Table 7.6**Chi-Square Test with A-Q3**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q2	430 (96.0%)	.000
B-Q4	428 (95.5%)	.000
B-Q5	422 (94.2%)	.000
B-Q6	427 (95.3%)	.000
B-Q10	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q13	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q14	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q15	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q16	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q17	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q20	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q22	426 (95.1%)	.030
B-Q23	423 (94.4%)	.012
B-Q24	426 (95.1%)	.027
B-Q27	425 (94.9%)	.016
B-Q31	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q39	427 (95.3%)	.003
B-Q46	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q47	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q48	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q49	427 (95.3%)	.000
B-Q55	424 (94.6%)	.017
B-Q56	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q57	427 (95.3%)	.003
B-Q61	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q63	427 (95.3%)	.000
B-Q65	425 (94.9%)	.001
B-Q66	426 (95.1%)	.000

⁵ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 9.

Following is *A-Q4: Student Status*, that is their status as undergraduate, postgraduate, or TAFE students or, in one case, as a student of a university-affiliated language centre. 32.8% of the relevant variables (22/67) were discovered as significant responses to A-Q4 at the time the questionnaires were conducted. Details of the numerical demonstration between the student status and variables in Part B are as follows: ten out of 17 variables were found in the politeness component, six out of 13 variables in the role of the euphemism in our daily life component, three out of 10 variables in the euphemism and PC in the discrimination component, and two out of 16 variables in the conceptualisation and attitude component, as well as one out of 11 variables in the lexical perception of euphemism component (see Table 7.7).⁶

Table 7.7**Chi-Square Test with A-Q4**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q2	443 (98.9%)	.013
B-Q6	440 (98.2%)	.020
B-Q9	439 (98.0%)	.000
B-Q10	439 (98.0%)	.003
B-Q12	440 (98.2%)	.036
B-Q13	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q14	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q15	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q16	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q17	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q18	437 (97.5%)	.010
B-Q21	439 (98.0%)	.009
B-Q22	439 (98.0%)	.002
B-Q25	437 (97.5%)	.002
B-Q26	438 (97.8%)	.001
B-Q28	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q32	436 (97.3%)	.000
B-Q36	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q37	440 (98.2%)	.001
B-Q45	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q49	440 (98.2%)	.026
B-Q63	440 (98.2%)	.010

⁶ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 10.

A-Q5: Faculty was the most predominantly associated demographic variable (see Table 7.8). According to this variable, 44.8% (30/67 variables) of the association between participants' faculty and variables in Part B in the Questionnaire are statistically significant. Correspondingly, the following variables were found to have significant values, according to the chi-square test: eight out of 17 variables in the politeness component, five out of 13 variables in the role of the euphemism in our daily life component, six out of ten variables in the euphemism and PC in the discrimination component, five out of 16 variables in the conceptualisation and attitude component, and five out of 11 variables in the lexical perception on euphemism component.⁷

Table 7.8**Chi-Square Test with A-Q5**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q5	431 (96.2%)	.000
B-Q8	437 (97.5%)	.008
B-Q9	435 (97.1%)	.000
B-Q12	436 (97.3%)	.000
B-Q13	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q14	433 (96.7%)	.000
B-Q15	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q16	433 (96.7%)	.005
B-Q17	433 (96.7%)	.003
B-Q20	435 (97.1%)	.002
B-Q21	435 (97.1%)	.029
B-Q25	433 (96.7%)	.000
B-Q28	434 (96.9%)	.007
B-Q30	434 (96.9%)	.003
B-Q31	433 (96.7%)	.033
B-Q32	432 (96.4%)	.007
B-Q33	433 (96.7%)	.014
B-Q36	436 (97.3%)	.032
B-Q37	436 (97.3%)	.038
B-Q40	435 (97.1%)	.004
B-Q45	436 (97.3%)	.020
B-Q46	434 (96.9%)	.040
B-Q47	435 (97.1%)	.000
B-Q49	436 (97.3%)	.002
B-Q55	433 (96.7%)	.049
B-Q59	434 (96.9%)	.020
B-Q60	436 (97.3%)	.017
B-Q61	433 (96.7%)	.032
B-Q65	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q66	435 (97.1%)	.001

⁷ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 11.

A-Q6: Language Ability (either Japanese or English) revealed that 32.8% (22/67) of the variables significantly relate to questionnaire participants' age (see Table 7.9). Numeric details of each significant item in response to the component are as follows: ten out of 17 variables in the politeness component, two out of 13 variables in the role of euphemism in our daily life component, two out of 10 variables in the euphemism and PC in discrimination component, five out of 16 variables in the conceptualisation and attitude component, and three out of 11 variables in the lexical perception on euphemism component.⁸

Table 7.9

Chi-Square Test with A-Q6

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q2	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q3	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q6	437 (97.5%)	.001
B-Q7	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q11	435 (97.1%)	.030
B-Q13	435 (97.1%)	.035
B-Q14	434 (96.9%)	.005
B-Q15	435 (97.1%)	.000
B-Q16	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q17	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q20	436 (97.3%)	.007
B-Q30	435 (97.1%)	.001
B-Q31	434 (96.9%)	.002
B-Q32	433 (96.7%)	.000
B-Q47	437 (97.5%)	.001
B-Q48	436 (97.3%)	.004
B-Q49	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q51	435 (97.1%)	.005
B-Q55	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q61	434 (96.9%)	.005
B-Q65	435 (97.1%)	.041
B-Q66	436 (97.3%)	.029

Unlike the above six demographic variables, *A-Q7: Socio-Political Attitudes* reveals less than 20% of items having significant association with the variables in Part B (17.9%, 12/67 items), as shown in Table 7.10.⁹

⁸ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 12.

⁹ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 13.

Table 7.10**Chi-Square Test with A-Q7**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q5	427 (95.3%)	.022
B-Q6	431 (96.2%)	.010
B-Q10	430 (96.0%)	.002
B-Q11	429 (95.8%)	.034
B-Q13	429 (95.8%)	.006
B-Q14	428 (95.5%)	.023
B-Q19	429 (95.8%)	.047
B-Q20	430 (96.0%)	.029
B-Q27	429 (95.8%)	.020
B-Q39	431 (96.2%)	.023
B-Q50	430 (96.0%)	.048
B-Q61	428 (95.5%)	.008

7.5.2 Summary

There was a significant relationship between the demographic variables: *A-Q1: Gender*, *A-Q2: Age*, *A-Q3: First Language*, *A-Q4: Current Student Status*, *A-Q5: Faculty*, *A-Q6: Language Ability* and *A-Q7: Socio-Political Attitudes*, and the questions about euphemism in Part B in the questionnaire. To rank in order, the most significant variable was *A-Q5: Faculty* compared with questions in Part B in the questionnaire (44.8%), and *A-Q3: First Language* was the second most significant item (41.8%). The third group comprises three different demographic variables: *A-Q2: Age*, *A-Q4: Student Status* (32.8%) and *A-Q6: Language Ability*, followed by *A-Q1: Gender* (22.4%). The chi-square test revealed that *A-Q7: Socio-Political Attitudes*, is the only demographic variable revealing non-significant association (17.9%, 12/67) with the variances in Part B in the questionnaire. These outcomes portray a considerable range of association between the questions about euphemism, and indicate adequate extrapolation, so that these demographic variables (except *A-Q7*), do not need to be extracted but can be utilised for further investigation. This is based on the assumption that 20% or more of the significant association between independent and dependent variables can be regarded as being worth noting and therefore further analysis is justified.

However, Sections 7.2 and 7.3 identified the unexpected complexity of *A-Q5: Faculty* and *A-Q6: Language Ability*. This complexity arose due to the difference in university systems between Australia and Japan, integrated with participants' culturally motivated

intuitiveness and subconscious beliefs. Therefore, the two variables: A-Q5 and 6 are not appropriate for this research or further analysis of the two targeted participant groups. It seems more pertinent to focus only on the demographic variables: A-Q1, 2, 3, and 4.

7.6 COMPARISON OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES WITH EUPHEMISTIC VARIABLES

Utilising the demographic and euphemistic variables, a comparative pragmatic study will be attempted for this stage. It is consequently considered that achievement of each research objective will result in the major aim of this research, to study euphemism in English and Japanese from a pragmatic contrastive perspective.

In order to accomplish this analysis, this research employed either of the two methods to detect differences in means: (1) Independent-Samples *t* Tests and (2) One-Way Anova. The Independent-Samples *t* Tests were utilised for investigating the differences in means between two samples, based on SUA and SUJ. The methodology is different for cases where variances are unequal or equal, depending on the result of the test for Equality of Variances, using Levene's method. However, in cases when three or more means were compared, the One-Way Anova was implemented. If it identified any significant difference, a Test of Homogeneity of Variance was conducted. Following this, if significant differences in variances occurred, Post Hoc Tests not assuming equal variances were carried out, using Dunnett's T3. If the Test of Homogeneity of Variance signified that there was no significant difference, Least-Significant Difference (LSD) was employed.

It should be noted again that students of universities in Australia are abbreviated to SUA while their Japanese counterparts are SUJ. Also each variable to be investigated is abbreviated: Question 1 in Part A and Question 1 in Part B in the questionnaire for example, are described as A-Q1 and B-Q1, for the purpose of easy recognition, as well as to distinguish between the variables in Part A and B of the questionnaire.

Also, interpretations in the following sections will exclusively single out the significant points, reflecting the RO2 and RO3 and each questionnaire component. This strategy aims to prevent the overlapping of several issues and variables repeatedly, which might detract from the core significance of the critical analysis. The components categorising the questions given in the questionnaire are *Component I: Euphemism in politeness and impoliteness*, (B-Q1 to 17) *Component II: The role of euphemism in our daily life* (B-Q18 to 30), *Component III: Euphemism and PC in discrimination, primarily in terms of gender, race, age, and disability* (B-Q31 to 40), *Component IV: Conceptualisation of euphemism, and attitude towards it* (B-Q41 to 56), and *Component V: Lexical perception on euphemism* (B-Q57-67).

The tables of the outcomes for all variables can be viewed in Appendices 7 to 21. Below sections will demonstrate the summary of outcome of the targeted variables which include significant differences in means.

7.6.1 Analysis of Variables to Investigate RO2

RO2: To investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism, was investigated by determining the main responses to 49 variables: B-Q7-17 and 19-56. The outcome of the Independent-Samples *t* Test analysis or One-Way Anova analysis for five categories of University (either in Australia or in Japanese), Gender, Age, First language, and Student Status, is summarised in the following sections.

7.6.1.1 RO2 Variables by SUA/SUJ Interaction

Since numerous factors could be identified, the following sections will describe significant mainstream results of Independent-Samples *t* Tests for variables, concentrating on the research objectives. Insofar as this thesis is examining the mainstream euphemistic features of two languages, English and Japanese, from SUA/SUJ's perspective, interaction of SUA/SUJ by each variable linked to RO2 will be demonstrated.

Among the 49 variables in Part B in the questionnaire, significant differences in means at the $p < .05$ level were discovered between SUA and SUJ in 31 variables, by the Independent-Samples t Test analysis. Those variables are: B-Q10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, and 56, which can be observed in Table 7.11 below.¹⁰

7.6.1.1.1 Outcome

Table 7.11

Independent Samples t Test

Variable	Number of SUA / SUJ (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q10	175 SUA (M=3.069) / 269 SUJ (M=3.476)	.000
B-Q11	174 SUA (M=3.868) / 269 SUJ (M=4.067)	.017
B-Q12	174 SUA (M=3.569) / 271 SUJ (M=3.753)	.027
B-Q13	172 SUA (M=2.709) / 271 SUJ (M=3.277)	.000
B-Q14	172 SUA (M=2.558) / 270 SUJ (M=3.385)	.000
B-Q15	172 SUA (M=2.860) / 271 SUJ (M=3.745)	.000
B-Q16	172 SUA (M=2.756) / 270 SUJ (M=3.496)	.000
B-Q17	172 SUA (M=2.826) / 270 SUJ (M=3.578)	.000
B-Q20	173 SUA (M=3.040) / 271 SUJ (M=3.384)	.000
B-Q21	173 SUA (M=3.555) / 271 SUJ (M=3.808)	.002
B-Q22	173 SUA (M=3.289) / 271 SUJ (M=3.727)	.000
B-Q23	171 SUA (M=2.982) / 270 SUJ (M=3.381)	.000
B-Q24	173 SUA (M=2.936) / 271 SUJ (M=3.417)	.000
B-Q29	173 SUA (M=4.185) / 270 SUJ (M=3.996)	.005
B-Q31	172 SUA (M=3.628) / 270 SUJ (M=3.078)	.000
B-Q35	172 SUA (M=4.006) / 271 SUJ (M=4.247)	.006
B-Q37	172 SUA (M=3.291) / 272 SUJ (M=3.647)	.000
B-Q39	172 SUA (M=3.884) / 272 SUJ (M=4.294)	.000
B-Q42	173 SUA (M=3.861) / 272 SUJ (M=3.640)	.005
B-Q43	173 SUA (M=3.884) / 2702SUJ (M=4.158)	.000
B-Q44	173 SUA (M=3.838) / 271 SUJ (M=3.469)	.000
B-Q45	173 SUA (M=4.081) / 272 SUJ (M=4.290)	.003
B-Q46	173 SUA (M=3.572) / 270 SUJ (M=2.870)	.000
B-Q47	173 SUA (M=3.873) / 271 SUJ (M=2.952)	.000
B-Q48	173 SUA (M=3.948) / 271 SUJ (M=3.052)	.000
B-Q49	173 SUA (M=3.272) / 272 SUJ (M=2.441)	.000
B-Q51	173 SUA (M=4.098) / 270 SUJ (M=3.670)	.000
B-Q52	173 SUA (M=4.006) / 267 SUJ (M=3.712)	.000
B-Q54	172 SUA (M=4.215) / 271 SUJ (M=3.764)	.000
B-Q55	171 SUA (M=3.901) / 271 SUJ (M=3.402)	.000
B-Q56	170 SUA (M=3.765) / 272 SUJ (M=4.199)	.000

¹⁰ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 14.

7.6.1.1.2 Interpretation

Of the 31 variables discovered to have significant differences in mean values between SUA and SUJ, 13 variables show SUA's stronger opinions about conceptualisation and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in the community. The SUJ's opinions were stronger on 23 values.

It is intriguing that no variables among B-Q1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 9 can be observed as having significant differences in mean values. This can be interpreted to mean that both euphemism and dysphemism play an important role in interpersonal communication, so that their basic functions were not distinctively acknowledged by the SUA and SUJ correspondingly as statistical evidence with mean values.

With *Component I: Euphemism in politeness and impoliteness* (B-Q1 to 17), *Component II: The role of euphemism in our daily life* (B-Q18 to 30), and *Component III: Euphemism and PC in discrimination, primarily in terms of gender, race, age and disability* (B-Q31 to 40), wherever significant differences in means occur between SUA and SUJ, the consistent pattern is that SUJ expressed stronger opinions than SUA (except B-Q31). B-Q31 is an exceptional case, where there is no equivalent Japanese term for the English phrase; *political correctness*, so the translation for the Japanese version might have provided a similar but slightly different connotation to the SUJ participants. It could be interpreted that issues such as politeness, roles of euphemism and issues associated with euphemism are more minutely considered and conceptualised by SUJ than SUA.

For *Component IV: Conceptualisation of euphemism, and attitude towards it*, significant differences in means between SUA and SUJ also indicated the different perceptions of the two groups towards the function of euphemism in contact situations. Three of the 13 variables of Component IV; B-Q43, 45 and 56 are agreed on more strongly by SUJ than by SUA. An assumption for the first two variables may be simply based on Japanese linguistic characteristics of politeness, which can be indicated by three different forms depending on the situation. Those honorific, humble and polite forms can all be

considered as polite rather than neutral (plain) forms, and speakers do not have to stick with particular form(s) but can use them interchangeably and can even create their own versions by expressing some aspects of those forms in plain form. The linguistic selection of the forms, which cannot be detected in English, may have lead SUJs to give more distinctive answers to strangers and older people.

Regarding B-Q56 about polite language in public debate, politician's injustice and unlawful cases were identified and focused upon during the questionnaire period. It is possible that responses might have been affected by the tragedy which happened on 11 September 2001 when there was considerable debate in Japan about whether or not to send its self-defence force to Iraq. These reasons resulted in the outcome that SUJ may have had more strongly agreeable opinions for various settings than might have been discovered from SUA.

Also location can be considered as one of the consequential features which distinguish the levels of the language used by interlocutors. This perception is made by SUAs' conceptualisation about religious places, which is distinctively stronger than the SUJs'. Differences between SUA and SUJ in social awareness of religions is assumed to have brought about this outcome, which was explained earlier, that nearly all Japanese peoples consider themselves as non-religious (Miller, 1977, p. 15).

7.6.1.2 RO2 Variables by Gender Interaction in SUA/SUJ

This section investigates how gender difference affects the significant differences in means in the cases of SUA and SUJ. The Independent-Samples *t* Test was utilised for the analysis of the variables by gender interaction in SUA and SUJ. Outcome of the analysis in SUA will be summarised in Table 7.12, followed by the one in SUJ in Table 7.13.

The analysis indicates that there are 13 variables which contributed to significant difference in the Independent-Samples *t* Test for Equality of Means at the $p < .05$ level between male and female SUA, and eight variables with significantly different means between male and female SUJ, which can be observed below.

7.6.1.2.1 Outcome

Significant differences in means between male and female SUA

SUA cases, identifying significant differences in means between male and female SUA respondents, are described in Table 7.12. 13 out of the 49 RO2 related variables exposed significant differences in means at the $p < .05$ level between male and female SUAs using the Independent-Samples t Test analysis. The variables identified as significant are: B-Q19, 23, 26, 27, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 46, 49, and 54.¹¹

Table 7.12

Independent Samples t Test

Variable	Number of Male / Female SUA (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q19	56 Males (M=3.268) / 114 Females (M=3.588)	.035
B-Q23	55 Males (M=2.764) / 113 Females (M=3.088)	.039
B-Q26	56 Males (M=3.286) / 113 Females (M=3.637)	.029
B-Q27	56 Males (M=2.732) / 113 Females (M=3.062)	.040
B-Q33	56 Males (M=3.143) / 114 Females (M=3.465)	.047
B-Q35	56 Males (M=3.786) / 114 Females (M=4.123)	.043
B-Q36	56 Males (M=2.875) / 114 Females (M=3.298)	.005
B-Q37	56 Males (M=3.000) / 114 Females (M=3.456)	.003
B-Q38	55 Males (M=3.655) / 113 Females (M=3.973)	.037
B-Q44	56 Males (M=3.464) / 114 Females (M=4.026)	.000
B-Q46	56 Males (M=3.339) / 114 Females (M=3.684)	.016
B-Q49	56 Males (M=3.071) / 114 Females (M=3.360)	.033
B-Q54	55 Males (M=4.036) / 114 Females (M=4.298)	.037

Significant differences in means between male and female SUJ

Significantly different attitudes between male and female SUJs were discovered in the eight components, which are B-Q8, 9, 10, 16, 37, 40, 52, and 55 (see Table 7.13).¹²

Table 7.13

Independent Samples t Test

Variable	Number of Male / Female SUJ (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q8	117 Males (M=3.256) / 153 Females (M=3.667)	.001
B-Q9	115 Males (M=3.791) / 153 Females (M=4.020)	.039
B-Q10	117 Males (M=3.598) / 151 Females (M=3.371)	.031
B-Q16	116 Males (M=3.371) / 153 Females (M=3.595)	.046
B-Q37	118 Males (M=3.500) / 153 Females (M=3.765)	.014
B-Q40	118 Males (M=3.153) / 152 Females (M=2.888)	.036
B-Q52	117 Males (M=3.906) / 149 Females (M=3.564)	.002
B-Q55	117 Males (M=3.530) / 153 Females (M=3.307)	.029

¹¹ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 15.

¹² Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 16.

7.6.1.2.2 Interpretation

All females have a larger scale of differences in means than their male counterparts in SUA, while this is not found in SUJ. This outcome has been translated as meaning that female SUAs are more conscious of the way they use euphemism than the other three groups: male SUJ, female SUJ, and male SUA. Comparing and contrasting the differences between Table 7.12 and 7.13, including variables which concentrate more upon the participants' concepts and attitudes, made the above hypothesis more reliable.

Simultaneously, however, it should be emphasised that the outcomes of female SUAs' consciousness about careful language use do not necessarily mean that they act or behave according to the outcome. It is possible that they considered that they should act this way because the way they act is contradicted.

7.6.1.3 RO2 Variables by Age Interaction in SUA/SUJ

Due to the requirement of comparing three or more means, One-Way Anova was implemented in this case. If it identified any significant differences in means, a Test of Homogeneity of variance was conducted. Then, if significant differences in means in variances appeared, Post Hoc Tests not assuming equal variances were carried out, employing Dunnett's T3. On the other hand, in cases where the Test of Homogeneity of Variance signified no significant differences, LSD was conducted.

7.6.1.3.1 Outcome

Significant differences in means between age groups in SUA

Two of the SUA variables targeted upon the RO2 contain the key interpretive element at the significant scale of $p < .05$, summarised in Table 7.14.¹³

¹³ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 17.

Table 7.14**One-Way Anova**

Variable	Anova Significance	Test of Homogeneity	Age Group	Dunnett's T3 or LSD Significance
B-Q10	.002	.897	16-20 & 21-25	.002
			16-20 & 26-30	.001
			16-20 & over 46	.031
			26-30 & 36-40	.023
B-Q17	.015	.025	16-20 & 31-35	.004

One-Way Anova Significant differences in means between age groups in SUJ

Analysis for SUJ was also conducted in the same way as for SUA. Only one question was eventually identified as a case containing significant differences in means between age groups (see Table 7.15).¹⁴

Table 7.15**One-Way Anova**

Variable	Anova Significance	Test of Homogeneity	Age Group	Dunnett's T3 or LSD Significance
B-Q28	.002	.043	16-20 & 26-30	.000
			21-25 & 26-30	.000

7.6.1.3.2 Interpretation

In the case of SUA, an interesting point was found in B-Q10. The two age groups, Group 16-20 and 36-40, showed that radical people use more abusive language than conservative people. However, other Groups: 21-25 and 26-30 and the responses of a group of respondents over 46, are uninterpretable as to the source of the outcome. In terms of the issue regarding people's death, Group 16-20 might have a perception that they use language more carefully than Group 31-35. Nevertheless, apart from those groups, the general picture showed that people are more neutral or less agreeable in their perceptions about this sensitive issue.

In the case of SUJ, it was evident that Group 26-30 tended to believe that euphemisms should receive greater attention in educational programs than Group 16-20 and 21-25. This was very interesting because of the fact that participants belonging to Group 26-30 are all postgraduate students. It is possible that because they spend more time on campus

¹⁴ Table showing the outcomes of the all variables can be viewed in Appendix 18.

than undergraduate students, they can see their language use as very blunt. This point will be discussed further in Section 7.6.1.5.

7.6.1.4 RO2 Variables by First Language Interaction in SUA/SUJ

In the analysis of this case, variables for RO2 by first language interaction in SUA/SUJ were also implemented using the Independent-Samples *t* Test. The Independent-Samples *t* Test cannot be computed in a case where one of the groups is empty, so that SUA and SUJ should not have been analysed separately. Consequently, the main input data combining both SUA and SUJ were engaged for the analysis, and only participants whose first language was either English or Japanese were targeted to exclude confusion which might be derived from including multiple first language categories.

7.6.1.4.1 Outcome

Significant differences in means between SEFL and SJFL

35 out of 49 variables targeting RO2 identified significant differences in means between Speakers of English/Japanese as a First Language (SEFL/SJFL) (see Table 7.16).¹⁵

¹⁵ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 19.

Table 7.16**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of SEFL / SJFL (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q10	160 SEFL (M=3.056) / 251 SJFL (M=3.462)	.000
B-Q11	159 SEFL (M=3.824) / 251 SJFL (M=4.052)	.012
B-Q12	159 SEFL (M=3.553) / 253 SJFL (M=3.763)	.017
B-Q13	158 SEFL (M=2.658) / 253 SJFL (M=3.289)	.000
B-Q14	158 SEFL (M=2.519) / 252 SJFL (M=3.369)	.000
B-Q15	158 SEFL (M=2.861) / 253 SJFL (M=3.759)	.000
B-Q16	158 SEFL (M=2.741) / 252 SJFL (M=3.508)	.000
B-Q17	158 SEFL (M=2.816) / 252 SJFL (M=3.583)	.000
B-Q20	159 SEFL (M=3.031) / 253 SJFL (M=3.391)	.000
B-Q21	159 SEFL (M=3.541) / 253 SJFL (M=3.826)	.001
B-Q22	159 SEFL (M=3.270) / 253 SJFL (M=3.731)	.000
B-Q23	157 SEFL (M=2.962) / 252 SJFL (M=3.393)	.000
B-Q24	159 SEFL (M=2.893) / 253 SJFL (M=3.411)	.000
B-Q27	158 SEFL (M=2.949) / 253 SJFL (M=3.142)	.038
B-Q29	159 SEFL (M=4.214) / 252 SJFL (M=4.000)	.003
B-Q30	159 SEFL (M=2.535) / 252 SJFL (M=2.742)	.036
B-Q31	158 SEFL (M=3.671) / 252 SJFL (M=3.067)	.000
B-Q35	158 SEFL (M=4.019) / 253 SJFL (M=4.245)	.013
B-Q37	158 SEFL (M=3.285) / 254 SJFL (M=3.654)	.000
B-Q39	158 SEFL (M=3.873) / 254 SJFL (M=4.291)	.000
B-Q42	158 SEFL (M=3.880) / 254 SJFL (M=3.626)	.002
B-Q43	158 SEFL (M=3.867) / 254 SJFL (M=4.169)	.000
B-Q44	158 SEFL (M=3.829) / 253 SJFL (M=3.478)	.000
B-Q45	158 SEFL (M=4.044) / 254 SJFL (M=4.295)	.001
B-Q46	158 SEFL (M=3.339) / 252 SJFL (M=2.881)	.000
B-Q47	158 SEFL (M=3.886) / 253 SJFL (M=2.949)	.000
B-Q48	158 SEFL (M=3.911) / 253 SJFL (M=3.036)	.000
B-Q49	158 SEFL (M=3.247) / 254 SJFL (M=2.441)	.000
B-Q50	158 SEFL (M=4.019) / 253 SJFL (M=4.158)	.046
B-Q51	158 SEFL (M=4.082) / 252 SJFL (M=3.683)	.000
B-Q52	158 SEFL (M=3.994) / 251 SJFL (M=3.721)	.001
B-Q53	158 SEFL (M=3.829) / 253 SJFL (M=3.992)	.036
B-Q54	157 SEFL (M=4.204) / 253 SJFL (M=3.759)	.000
B-Q55	156 SEFL (M=3.872) / 253 SJFL (M=3.399)	.000
B-Q56	155 SEFL (M=3.735) / 254 SJFL (M=4.201)	.000

7.6.1.4.2 Interpretation

Firstly, B-Q10-17, which was identified from Component I, will be concentrated upon. Interestingly, the outcome of all those variables shows that SJFL respondents are more conventionally careful about euphemistic concepts and attitudes.

The different categories of the Components in the variables will be considered next. In Component I, significant differences in means can be found in Q-B10-17, and all of

them show that SJFLs have more radical characteristic ideas about euphemism in politeness situations than SEFLs.

Component II, except B-Q29, indicates that seven out of the eight variables with significant differences in means tend to have the same emphasis as above. An interesting point here is that SEFLs are all university students in Australia. They have had more opportunities to be present in social gatherings and communicate with previously known and/or unknown people in Australia utilising formality and politeness linguistic strategies, than SJFLs in Japan who tend to have gatherings with in-group members. Such situational difference and etiquette in Australia, leads to the SEFLs' belief that socialisation is an important part of their life, where euphemism will be cultivated and be practised.

There are 16 target variables in Component IV. Except for B-Q41, all variables showed significant differences in means between SEFL and SJFL, and these differences were greater for SEFL on 10 out of the 15 variables. This may indicate that SEFLs are more conscious about the functions of euphemism than SJFLs. On variables *B-Q50: People should use polite language when talking to their teacher* and *B-Q53: People should use polite language in educational situation* there were significant differences in means between SEFL and SJFL, which were assumed to have been brought about by the sociocultural and traditional attributes of people who are supposed to be respectable. In fact not all students involved in an educational institution in Japan utilise Japanese language with plain or honorific forms. However, blunt language is never used in front of their educators in the educational environment.

7.6.1.5 RO2 Variables by Student Status Interaction in SUA/SUJ

Interaction of A-Q4: Student Status (undergraduate or postgraduate) by 49 variables leading to RO2 in SUA and SUJ will be described next. Similarly to Section 7.6.1.5, students from TAFE and university affiliated language centres were not counted as holding the mainstream values. The separate databases of SUA or SUJ were utilised after considering two possible combinations; undergraduates and postgraduates in SUA,

and undergraduates and postgraduates in SUJ, conducted by the Independent-Samples t Test analysis.

7.6.1.5.1 Outcome

Significant differences in means between Undergraduates/Postgraduates in SUA

The analysis indicated that there were only three cases with significant differences in means at the $p < .05$ level between undergraduates and postgraduates in SUA (see Table 7.17 for the summary).¹⁶

Table 7.17

Independent Samples t Test

Variable	Number of Undergraduate / Postgraduate (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q10	138 Undergraduates (M=3.174) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.500)	.004
B-Q17	136 Undergraduates (M=2.971) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.286)	.009
B-Q22	137 Undergraduates (M=3.350) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.810)	.010

Significant differences in means between Undergraduates/Postgraduates in SUJ

There were seven different variables showing significant differences in means between undergraduates and postgraduates (see Table 7.18).¹⁷

Table 7.18

Independent Samples t Test

Variable	Number of Undergraduate / Postgraduate (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q8	257 Undergraduates (M=3.486) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q19	256 Undergraduates (M=3.613) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q25	256 Undergraduates (M=3.293) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q26	257 Undergraduates (M=3.440) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q39	258 Undergraduates (M=4.298) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q49	259 Undergraduates (M=2.422) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.016
B-Q52	254 Undergraduates (M=3.724) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000

7.6.1.5.2 Interpretation

Since only three variables showing significant differences in means were found, each variable will be analysed in terms of RO2. *Q-B10: Radical people use more abusive language than conservative people, B-Q17: People should consciously employ euphemism in regard to terms that relate to death, and B-Q22: Euphemism indicates*

¹⁶ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 20.

¹⁷ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 21.

care for others are all very clearly understandable questions. On the surface, undergraduate students are more polite and careful about employing euphemism, or consider that it is important to be polite about doing so. Looking at this outcome from other angles, however, it is possible that more mature and educated people such as postgraduates might view society and the world by considering deeper levels of context. In other words, this may have been reflected by their acknowledgement of the complexity of the language use and its relationship to society.

Compared with the above, the case of SUJ lacks validity. In terms of significant differences in means between undergraduates and postgraduates in SUJ, there were only three postgraduate students in this case, compared with a total of 269 undergraduates. Therefore, it is inappropriate to consider this category as a non-comparative element.

7.6.1.6 Summary

This section concentrated on RO2: To investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism, paying particular attention to the native speakers' perspective. At this point the issue is raised of whether any distinctive characteristic elements might exist, according to the specific conditions.

This question above was addressed by RO3: To examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts. Discussion of RO3 will be undertaken in the following section.

7.6.2 Analysis of Variables to Investigate RO3

The investigation of a total of 65 variables in B-Q1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8-67 will potentially lead to RO3: To examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts, paying particular attention to the native speakers' perspective.

As explained in Section 7.6, the term *target group* in this section refers to the native speakers of the target language. This investigation also concentrates upon the significant differences in means identified in the above variables by Independent-Samples *t* Test or One-Way Anova for University (either in Australia or in Japan), defined as Student of University in Australia (SUA) and Student of University in Japan (SUJ), in regard to; Gender, Age, First Language (either English or Japanese), and Student Status (either Undergraduate or Postgraduate).

7.6.2.1 RO3 Variables by SUA/SUJ Interaction

In this section, major significant differences in means discovered by the Independent-Samples *t* Test will be featured. The interaction of SUA and SUJ by each variable associated with RO3, which is the mainstream objective for the following section, is exclusively focused upon.

7.6.2.1.1 Outcome

Among the 65 different variables for RO3, significant differences in means are present at the $p < .05$ level between SUA and SUJ for 43 variables: B-Q2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, and 66. Consider Table 7.19 below.¹⁸

¹⁸ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 14.

Table 7.19**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of SUA / SUJ (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q2	176 SUA (M=4.014) / 272 SUJ (M=3.783)	.004
B-Q3	176 SUA (M=3.196) / 270 SUJ (M=2.822)	.000
B-Q4	176 SUA (M=2.068) / 270 SUJ (M=2.278)	.022
B-Q6	176 SUA (M=4.341) / 269 SUJ (M=3.825)	.000
B-Q10	175 SUA (M=3.069) / 269 SUJ (M=3.476)	.000
B-Q11	174 SUA (M=3.868) / 269 SUJ (M=4.067)	.017
B-Q12	174 SUA (M=3.569) / 271 SUJ (M=3.753)	.027
B-Q13	172 SUA (M=2.709) / 271 SUJ (M=3.277)	.000
B-Q14	172 SUA (M=2.558) / 270 SUJ (M=3.385)	.000
B-Q15	172 SUA (M=2.860) / 271 SUJ (M=3.745)	.000
B-Q16	172 SUA (M=2.756) / 270 SUJ (M=3.496)	.000
B-Q17	172 SUA (M=2.826) / 270 SUJ (M=3.578)	.000
B-Q20	173 SUA (M=3.040) / 271 SUJ (M=3.384)	.000
B-Q21	173 SUA (M=3.555) / 271 SUJ (M=3.808)	.002
B-Q22	173 SUA (M=3.289) / 271 SUJ (M=3.727)	.000
B-Q23	171 SUA (M=2.982) / 270 SUJ (M=3.381)	.000
B-Q24	173 SUA (M=2.936) / 271 SUJ (M=3.417)	.000
B-Q29	173 SUA (M=4.185) / 270 SUJ (M=3.996)	.005
B-Q31	172 SUA (M=3.628) / 270 SUJ (M=3.078)	.000
B-Q35	172 SUA (M=4.006) / 271 SUJ (M=4.247)	.006
B-Q37	172 SUA (M=3.291) / 272 SUJ (M=3.647)	.000
B-Q39	172 SUA (M=3.884) / 272 SUJ (M=4.294)	.000
B-Q42	173 SUA (M=3.861) / 272 SUJ (M=3.640)	.005
B-Q43	173 SUA (M=3.884) / 2702SUJ (M=4.158)	.000
B-Q44	173 SUA (M=3.838) / 271 SUJ (M=3.469)	.000
B-Q45	173 SUA (M=4.081) / 272 SUJ (M=4.290)	.003
B-Q46	173 SUA (M=3.572) / 270 SUJ (M=2.870)	.000
B-Q47	173 SUA (M=3.873) / 271 SUJ (M=2.952)	.000
B-Q48	173 SUA (M=3.948) / 271 SUJ (M=3.052)	.000
B-Q49	173 SUA (M=3.272) / 272 SUJ (M=2.441)	.000
B-Q51	173 SUA (M=4.098) / 270 SUJ (M=3.670)	.000
B-Q52	173 SUA (M=4.006) / 267 SUJ (M=3.712)	.000
B-Q54	172 SUA (M=4.215) / 271 SUJ (M=3.764)	.000
B-Q55	171 SUA (M=3.901) / 271 SUJ (M=3.402)	.000
B-Q56	170 SUA (M=3.765) / 272 SUJ (M=4.199)	.000
B-Q59	171 SUA (M=3.018) / 272 SUJ (M=2.676)	.001
B-Q60	173 SUA (M=2.457) / 272 SUJ (M=2.717)	.003
B-Q61	172 SUA (M=3.930) / 270 SUJ (M=3.252)	.000
B-Q62	173 SUA (M=3.786) / 271 SUJ (M=3.480)	.000
B-Q63	174 SUA (M=3.046) / 271 SUJ (M=3.539)	.000
B-Q64	172 SUA (M=2.983) / 270 SUJ (M=3.200)	.014
B-Q65	172 SUA (M=2.564) / 271 SUJ (M=3.018)	.000
B-Q66	174 SUA (M=2.276) / 270 SUJ (M=2.919)	.000

7.6.2.1.2 Interpretation

Some interesting points about variables in *Component I: Euphemism in politeness and impoliteness* in SUA and SUJ were discovered, in terms of perspectives linked to

politeness strategies. Especially for variables linked to swearing and crude words/expressions, SUA respondents seem to be better able to view various pictures and contexts than SUJ respondents. It is often stated that few swearwords and crude words/expressions exist in Japanese, compared to the wide variety which exist in English. In terms of general settings, however, SUJs have a stronger belief that euphemism should be used with special care than do SUAs.

The outcomes of variables in *Component II: Role of the euphemism in our daily life* indicate that SUJ respondents have more radical ideas than SUAs about euphemism reflecting our daily lives. An interesting finding, however, is that SUAs answered more radically than SUJs that socialisation contributes to the usage of euphemism. This may be explained by the likelihood that more occasions to encounter socialisation with different age groups and settings are experienced by SUAs than SUJs, in their daily lives.

As explained in Section 7.6.1.1.2, SUJs might be more aware and careful about the importance of not using the dysphemisms than SUAs. This hypothesis is supported by the outcome of B-Q35, 37, and 39 in *Component III: Euphemism and PC in discrimination primarily in terms of gender, race, age and disability*. Disregarding any considerable contexts, there might be a social value prevailing that it is safe as long as they do not use the terms. SUA revealed their distinctive feeling about B-Q31 on political correctness, but this is assuming the language difference which could not be identified by SUJ for the absence of these terms in Japanese.

SUJ respondents consider that hearers' attitudes do not reflect as much significance as SUA respondents. Also values of euphemistic expression rely heavily on social structure and tendencies. SUAs and SUJs believe that social politeness should be maintained, yet SUAs are more concerned about gender bias, and age distinctions are more carefully handled by SUJs, except for family members. Regarding friends, SUAs' attitudes are that people should maintain a neutral feeling, while SUJs clearly indicate that non-polite attitudes should be utilised.

As for *Component IV: Conceptualisation of euphemism, and attitude towards it*, locations also contributes to perceptions about the level of the euphemistic language used by people. The results indicate that SUA respondents believe more strongly that people should use polite language when talking to different groups of people, than SUJ. The fact that Australia more frequently provides contact situations for SUAs than Japan does for SUJs presumably contributed to this outcome; SUAs tend to agree more strongly that people should use polite language in contact situations. Also, SUAs' conceptualisation of religious places is distinctively stronger than SUJs', for religious views differ between SUA and SUJ. The disclosures about political scandal and bribery during the period when the questionnaire was being conducted in Japan seem to have contributed to the responses about polite language in public debate. Personal experience of contact situations also gives rise to the manipulation of euphemism.

Component V: Lexical perception on euphemism implied that a language's characteristics reflect its speakers' conceptualisation. The cases about which most native speakers agree/disagree do not necessarily indicate the same responses from non-native speakers of the target language. Also the positive and native meanings, connotation and denotation and the scale of lexical items can be decided by the characteristic features contained by the target language. Thus the outcomes of the target variables showed language characteristics which differ from language to language, and counterparts of the targeted lexical items in a language do not automatically imply the same meaning in another language. These are indeed crucial points not only for one's use of euphemism and dysphemism and/or doublespeak but also for affecting non-native speakers' target language use.

7.6.2.2 RO3 Variables by Gender Interaction in SUA/SUJ

A description of the outcome of variables for RO3 by Gender Interaction on SUA/SUJ will be attempted in this section. The test analysis identified significant differences in means between males and female participants in two possible combinations; Male/Female SUA and Male/Female SUJ.

The analysis indicates that there are 15 variables which caused significant differences in the Independent-Samples *t* Test for Equality of Means at the $p < .05$ level between male and female SUAs, and 11 variables showing significant different in means between male and female SUJs, which are detailed below.

7.6.2.2.1 Outcome

Significant differences in means between male and female SUA

The focus of this section is on the gender differences in SUA. There were 15 variables showing significant differences in means between male and female SUA: B-Q3, 19, 23, 26, 27, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 46, 49, 54, and 62. Consider the summary of the outcome in Table 7.20.¹⁹

Table 7.20

Independent Samples *t* Test

Variable	Number of Male / Female SUA (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q3	56 Males (M=3.411) / 117 Females (M=3.056)	.042
B-Q19	56 Males (M=3.268) / 114 Females (M=3.588)	.035
B-Q23	55 Males (M=2.764) / 113 Females (M=3.088)	.039
B-Q26	56 Males (M=3.286) / 113 Females (M=3.637)	.029
B-Q27	56 Males (M=2.732) / 113 Females (M=3.062)	.040
B-Q33	56 Males (M=3.143) / 114 Females (M=3.465)	.047
B-Q35	56 Males (M=3.786) / 114 Females (M=4.123)	.043
B-Q36	56 Males (M=2.875) / 114 Females (M=3.298)	.005
B-Q37	56 Males (M=3.000) / 114 Females (M=3.456)	.003
B-Q38	55 Males (M=3.655) / 113 Females (M=3.973)	.037
B-Q44	56 Males (M=3.464) / 114 Females (M=4.026)	.000
B-Q46	56 Males (M=3.339) / 114 Females (M=3.684)	.016
B-Q49	56 Males (M=3.071) / 114 Females (M=3.360)	.033
B-Q54	55 Males (M=4.036) / 114 Females (M=4.298)	.037
B-Q62	56 Males (M=3.571) / 114 Females (M=3.904)	.023

Significant differences in means between male and female SUJ

11 components such as B-Q8, 9, 10, 16, 37, 40, 52, 55, 58, 59, and 60 in terms of SUJ. Those variables are described below (Tables 7.21).²⁰

¹⁹ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 15.

²⁰ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 16.

Table 7.21**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of Male / Female SUJ (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q8	117 Males (M=3.256) / 153 Females (M=3.667)	.001
B-Q9	115 Males (M=3.791) / 153 Females (M=4.020)	.039
B-Q10	117 Males (M=3.598) / 151 Females (M=3.371)	.031
B-Q16	116 Males (M=3.371) / 153 Females (M=3.595)	.046
B-Q37	118 Males (M=3.500) / 153 Females (M=3.765)	.014
B-Q40	118 Males (M=3.153) / 152 Females (M=2.888)	.036
B-Q52	117 Males (M=3.906) / 149 Females (M=3.564)	.002
B-Q55	117 Males (M=3.530) / 153 Females (M=3.307)	.029
B-Q58	118 Males (M=2.364) / 153 Females (M=2.732)	.002
B-Q59	118 Males (M=2.534) / 153 Females (M=2.791)	.046
B-Q60	118 Males (M=2.559) / 153 Females (M=2.843)	.016

7.6.2.2.2 Interpretation

Since not many variables were identified as containing significance differences in means between males and females, each variable will be analysed in order to interpret the data.

For Component I, regarding the outcome of SUA, variable B-Q3 indicates that male SUAs have a stronger concept than female SUAs that swearing is used primarily to express strong feelings, rather than to insult others. Two different interpretations can be made here. The first is that males use this type of euphemism more than females or males think that they use it more than females. The second interpretation is that females in reality swear less than males, or that females believe more strongly that swearing is used primarily to insult others, rather than to express strong feeling. Variable B-Q8: Females are more conscious than males, was excluded as non-significant based on the mean score between male and female SUA. However, the outcome is 56 Males (M=3.286) / 116 Females (M=3.397) (*p*-value is .488). Thus it is assumed that the outcome resulting from the intermingling of both the above interpretations, combined with the possibility that the term *swearing*, is understood as having broader semantic interpretations in male SUA participants' minds than in the minds of their female counterparts.

Regarding the case of SUJ, B-Q8, 9, 10 and 16 were identified. The outcome of B-Q8 can be interpreted in two ways. First, female SUJs simply believe they are or should be so in reality or this is socially appropriate in Japanese society. Thus, it can be assumed

that their desire and the reality might have been counted simultaneously. It can be explained as equivalent to *B-Q9: Older people are more conscious of euphemism than teenagers* and *B-Q16: people should consciously employ euphemism in regard to terms that relate to religion*. However, the statistical outcome of *B-Q10: Radical people use more abusive language than conservative people* shows that the male SUJ participants more clearly agreed with this statement than their female counterparts. This might be because of the male SUJ participants' belief about and description of their reality.

Component II is considered next. The SUA result of variables B-Q19, 23, 26 and 27, detailed in Table 7.21, are all directly related to the use of euphemism in daily social life so that female SUAs have more explicit opinions about the importance of the role of euphemism than their male counterparts. On the other hand, no significant differences in means were identified between male and female SUJs in any variables in this section.

For Component III, for the SUA group, B-Q33, 35, 36, 37, and 38 were identified as variables with significant differences in means between males and females. The four areas in which euphemism and PC in discrimination occur, gender, race, age and disability, are directly and indirectly considered by respondents to require careful use and again females more clearly consider this to be the case than males. For the SUJ group, B-Q37 and 40 are the only variables and the above interpretation may be adapted to B-Q37. B-Q40 pointed out the possibility of avoiding discriminatory terms and male SUJ participants answered more emphatically that it is impossible to do so than their female counterparts, which might be a reflection of their belief about this issue.

In Component IV, again female SUA expressed their distinctive conceptualisations and attitudes towards euphemism usage, especially as an outcome of B-Q44, 46, 49 and 54. For the SUJ group, there were significant differences in means between male and female SUJs on B-Q52 and 55, and male SUJ respondents seem to have more solid concepts about the language and euphemism use in contact situations with foreigners, than their female counterparts. This is a complete contrast to the SUA respondents with respect to gender differences and the size of the differences in means.

Finally for Component V. B-Q62: *The word flight attendant contains less gender-bias than steward/stewardess* is the only variable with a significant difference in means between males and female SUAs. The term *flight attendant* is favoured by female SUAs, the figures being 117 Males (M=3.376) / 153 Females (M=3.569) (p -value is .081), while it is not necessarily so for SUJs. However, the term *flight attendant* has not taken root yet in Japanese and the male counterpart of the term is not in use in Japan.²¹ This background might account for the different results for SUA and SUJ.

The euphemisms described in B-Q58, 59, and 60, which are *defence force*, *euthanasia* and *(company is) restructured*, are more strongly favoured by female SUJs than male SUJs. Again Japanese females have stronger preferences and opinions than their male counterparts, and these euphemisms are especially controversial in Japan. It is probably correct to note that euphemistic terms for controversial issues are almost always favoured by female SUJ respondents but this is not always so in the case of SUA.

7.6.2.3 RO3 Variables by Age Interaction in SUA/SUJ

In a similar manner to Section 7.6.1.3, the age interaction of variables is listed. Age, which was originally divided into eight sections: (a) 16-20, (b) 21-25, (c) 26-30, (d) 31-35, (e) 36-40, (f) 41-45, (g) 46-50, and (h) over 50, was transformed into seven categories, namely: (a) 16-20, (b) 21-25, (c) 26-30, (d) 31-35, (e) 36-40, (f) 41-45, and (g) over 46. This was applied to the 65 variables used to examine RO3, based on the data of SUA or SUJ by one-way analysis of variance (One-Way Anova), along with some optional procedures, especially multiple Post Hoc Tests.

As explained in Section 7.6 and reported in Section 7.6.1.3, Tests of Homogeneity of Variance were conducted for the cases in which significant differences in means appear. Then, for those cases in which variances appeared, Post Hoc Tests not assuming equal variances were conducted, with Dunnett's T3. However, in cases where that the Test of Homogeneity of Variance signified no significant difference in means, LSD was implemented.

²¹ The term *flight attendant* in Japanese context was briefly explored in Chapter 3: 3.2.1.1.

7.6.2.3.1 Outcome

Significant differences in means between age groups in SUA

The key interpretive element at the significance level of $p < .05$ occurred in three of the RO3 variables in SUA, as summarised in Table 7.22.²²

Table 7.22

One-Way Anova

Variable	Anova Significance	Test of Homogeneity	Age Group	Dunnett's T3 or LSD Significance
B-Q4	.035	.108	16-20 & 36-40	.010
			21-25 & 36-40	.005
			26-30 & 36-40	.008
			31-35 & 41-45	.043
			36-40 & 41-45	.007
B-Q10	.002	.897	16-20 & 21-25	.002
			16-20 & 26-30	.001
			16-20 & over 46	.031
			26-30 & 36-40	.023
B-Q17	.015	.025	16-20 & 31-35	.004

Significant differences in means between age groups in SUJ

Analysis for SUJ was conducted by the same approach as that used for SUA. There was only one variable which had significantly different means between age groups (see Table 7.23).²³

Table 7.23

One-Way Anova

Variable	Anova Significance	Test of Homogeneity	Age Group	Dunnett's T3 or LSD Significance
B-Q28	.002	.043	16-20 & 26-30	.000
			21-25 & 26-30	.000

7.6.2.3.2 Interpretation

Considering the significant differences in means between each SUA age group in terms of B-Q4, two groups: 31-35 and 36-40 distinctively differ from the others. This finding contributes to the legitimacy of the interpretation that those SUA age groups have stronger prohibitions against all crude words/expressions than others. Since the mean values for the two groups are from 2.500 and 2.750, while others are less than 2.014, it might be plausible that those two age groups strongly support the idea, but others do not hold this view as strongly, in general.

²² Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 17.

²³ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 18.

The response to variable *B-Q10: Radical people use more abusive language than conservative people*, is intriguing, since the under 20 and 36 to 40-year age groups both agreed that radical people use more abusive language than conservative people, unlike the groups representing participants in their 20s and those over 46, who gave an unclear response.

There are two highly differentiated groups. Group 16-20 appears to have a perception that it is important to use language about death more carefully than Group 31-35. However, it should be noted that neutral or less agreeable perceptions could be found about people's attitudes in general on this issue.

In the case of SUJ, a conspicuous element is that students in the age group 26-30 have more of a tendency to express that euphemisms should receive greater attention in educational programs than is expressed by those in the 16-20 and 21-25 groups.

7.6.2.4 RO3 Variables by First Language Interaction in SUA/SUJ

Variables by First Language Interaction on SUA/SUJ were analysed by the Independent-Samples *t* Test. This time, modification of the case of Section 7.6.1.4 was required for the test design. Test analysis of the individual cases of SUA and SUJ would not result in the filling of all cells, which prevented the use of the Independent-Samples table. Therefore, the main input data was applied for both cases, SUA and SUJ, rather than either one, for the analysis described in this section. The target participants' first language is either English or Japanese.

7.6.2.4.1 Outcome

49 out of 65 variables targeting RO3 identified significant differences in means between SEFL and SJFL. Following are the details and conditions of the 49 variables.

Significant differences in means between SEFL and SJFL

For the following 49 variables there were significant differences in means between SEFL and SJFL in relation to RO3, summarised in Table 7.24.²⁴

²⁴ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 19.

Table 7.24**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of SEFL / SJFL (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q2	161 SEFL (M=4.068) / 254 SJFL (M=3.772)	.000
B-Q3	161 SEFL (M=3.177) / 252 SJFL (M=2.829)	.001
B-Q4	161 SEFL (M=2.006) / 252 SJFL (M=2.274)	.026
B-Q6	161 SEFL (M=4.410) / 251 SJFL (M=3.809)	.000
B-Q10	160 SEFL (M=3.056) / 251 SJFL (M=3.462)	.000
B-Q11	159 SEFL (M=3.824) / 251 SJFL (M=4.052)	.012
B-Q12	159 SEFL (M=3.553) / 253 SJFL (M=3.763)	.017
B-Q13	158 SEFL (M=2.658) / 253 SJFL (M=3.289)	.000
B-Q14	158 SEFL (M=2.519) / 252 SJFL (M=3.369)	.000
B-Q15	158 SEFL (M=2.861) / 253 SJFL (M=3.759)	.000
B-Q16	158 SEFL (M=2.741) / 252 SJFL (M=3.508)	.000
B-Q17	158 SEFL (M=2.816) / 252 SJFL (M=3.583)	.000
B-Q18	159 SEFL (M=3.673) / 251 SJFL (M=3.490)	.035
B-Q20	159 SEFL (M=3.031) / 253 SJFL (M=3.391)	.000
B-Q21	159 SEFL (M=3.541) / 253 SJFL (M=3.826)	.001
B-Q22	159 SEFL (M=3.270) / 253 SJFL (M=3.731)	.000
B-Q23	157 SEFL (M=2.962) / 252 SJFL (M=3.393)	.000
B-Q24	159 SEFL (M=2.893) / 253 SJFL (M=3.411)	.000
B-Q27	158 SEFL (M=2.949) / 253 SJFL (M=3.142)	.038
B-Q29	159 SEFL (M=4.214) / 252 SJFL (M=4.000)	.003
B-Q30	159 SEFL (M=2.535) / 252 SJFL (M=2.742)	.036
B-Q31	158 SEFL (M=3.671) / 252 SJFL (M=3.067)	.000
B-Q35	158 SEFL (M=4.019) / 253 SJFL (M=4.245)	.013
B-Q37	158 SEFL (M=3.285) / 254 SJFL (M=3.654)	.000
B-Q39	158 SEFL (M=3.873) / 254 SJFL (M=4.291)	.000
B-Q42	158 SEFL (M=3.880) / 254 SJFL (M=3.626)	.002
B-Q43	158 SEFL (M=3.867) / 254 SJFL (M=4.169)	.000
B-Q44	158 SEFL (M=3.829) / 253 SJFL (M=3.478)	.000
B-Q45	158 SEFL (M=4.044) / 254 SJFL (M=4.295)	.001
B-Q46	158 SEFL (M=3.339) / 252 SJFL (M=2.881)	.000
B-Q47	158 SEFL (M=3.886) / 253 SJFL (M=2.949)	.000
B-Q48	158 SEFL (M=3.911) / 253 SJFL (M=3.036)	.000
B-Q49	158 SEFL (M=3.247) / 254 SJFL (M=2.441)	.000
B-Q50	158 SEFL (M=4.019) / 253 SJFL (M=4.158)	.046
B-Q51	158 SEFL (M=4.082) / 252 SJFL (M=3.683)	.000
B-Q52	158 SEFL (M=3.994) / 251 SJFL (M=3.721)	.001
B-Q53	158 SEFL (M=3.829) / 253 SJFL (M=3.992)	.036
B-Q54	157 SEFL (M=4.204) / 253 SJFL (M=3.759)	.000
B-Q55	156 SEFL (M=3.872) / 253 SJFL (M=3.399)	.000
B-Q56	155 SEFL (M=3.735) / 254 SJFL (M=4.201)	.000
B-Q57	158 SEFL (M=2.361) / 254 SJFL (M=2.626)	.007
B-Q59	156 SEFL (M=3.006) / 254 SJFL (M=2.661)	.002
B-Q60	159 SEFL (M=2.396) / 254 SJFL (M=2.709)	.001
B-Q61	157 SEFL (M=3.981) / 252 SJFL (M=3.274)	.000
B-Q62	158 SEFL (M=3.797) / 253 SJFL (M=3.514)	.002
B-Q63	159 SEFL (M=3.013) / 253 SJFL (M=4.533)	.000
B-Q64	157 SEFL (M=2.930) / 252 SJFL (M=3.190)	.006
B-Q65	157 SEFL (M=2.510) / 253 SJFL (M=3.008)	.000
B-Q66	159 SEFL (M=2.264) / 252 SJFL (M=2.897)	.000

7.6.2.4.2 Interpretation

In terms of Component I, variables B-Q10-17 have already been interpreted in 7.6.1.4.2, so now the other variables such as B-Q2, 3, 4, and 6 will be discussed. It can be interpreted from these outcomes that SEFL respondents have more of a tendency to identify and recognise *bad language* and its functions than do SJFL respondents. Possibly this is why SEFLs might believe that prohibition of the language could not only damage the language use itself but could also affect people's freedom of speech. On the other hand, absence of rich examples of *bad language* might have resulted in SJFL respondents' unclear vision of *bad language*, which caused them to provide answers which significantly differ in means from SEFL.

As for Component II, the outcome of *B-Q18: Euphemism reflects societal values* reveals that SEFL respondents have more solid ideas than SJFL about euphemism being more strongly associated with social values. This may indicate that cautiousness and restriction of language use is more prevalent among SEFL respondents than SJFL, apart from their behaviour in reality which is identified by their language manner of speaking and etiquette. It is assumed that the outcome of *B-Q31: Euphemism tied to political correctness* confirms this interpretation.

As for Component III, the interpretations described in Sections 7.6.1.1.2, 7.6.1.4.2, and 7.6.2.1.2 can be applied to this section as well. Generally speaking, SJFL respondents might be more aware and careful than SEFLs about the importance of not using dysphemisms. The idea that not using the terms leads to safe neutral language use can be observed. SEFL respondents revealed their distinctive feelings about B-Q31 on political correctness, but the equivalent term to *political correctness* could not be identified in Japanese by SUJs, which might have contributed to the result to a greater or lesser extent.

Among the variables categorised as Component IV, as explained in Section 7.6.1.4.2, all variables except B-Q41 had significant differences in means between SEFL and SJFL, and for 10 out of the 15 variables the means for SEFL were higher than for SJFL. This

may indicate that SEFLs are more conscious about the functions of euphemism than SJFLs, besides SJFLs have a more solid tendency to think about the significance of the educational environment and language use, which can be observed after the outcome of variables B-Q50 and 53.

Considering Component V, the cases on which most native speakers agreed/disagreed do not necessarily match those for non-native speakers of the target language. Despite the careful selections of the questions, their degree and meaning can vary between languages. This determines the idea that one's language functioning as euphemism can potentially become others' dysphemism and/or doublespeak. Furthermore, the frequency and magnitude of this increases in foreign contact situations.

7.6.2.5 RO3 Variables by Student Status Interaction in SUA/SUJ

The next case is the interaction of A-Q4: Student Status (Undergraduate or Postgraduate), by 65 variables: B-Q1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8-67. Naturally students from TAFE and university affiliated language centres are counted as the missing values, as described in Section 7.6.1.5. The separate data bases of SUA or SUJ were utilised after two possible combinations. Undergraduate and Postgraduate in SUA, and Undergraduate and Postgraduate in SUJ were implemented by the Independent-Samples *t* Test analysis.

The analysis indicates that some cells contain significant differences in means at the $p < .05$ level between Undergraduate and Postgraduate in SUA and in SUJ. Consider the following Tables 7.25 and 7.26 for the outcomes of the each of these cases.

7.6.2.5.1 Outcome

Significant differences in means between Undergraduates/Postgraduates in SUA

Table 7.25 describes that there were three cases which contain the significant differences in means at the $p < .05$ value between undergraduate and postgraduate students.²⁵

²⁵ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 20.

Table 7.25**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of Undergraduate / Postgraduate (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q10	138 Undergraduates (M=3.174) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.500)	.004
B-Q17	136 Undergraduates (M=2.971) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.286)	.009
B-Q22	137 Undergraduates (M=3.350) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.810)	.010

Significant differences in means between Undergraduates/Postgraduates in SUJ

Cases of SUJ will demonstrate the 11 variables having significant differences in means between undergraduates and postgraduates. Note Table 7.26 for the outcome.²⁶

Table 7.26**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of Undergraduate / Postgraduate (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q8	257 Undergraduates (M=3.486) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q18	255 Undergraduates (M=3.525) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q19	256 Undergraduates (M=3.613) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q25	256 Undergraduates (M=3.293) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q26	257 Undergraduates (M=3.440) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q39	258 Undergraduates (M=4.298) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q49	259 Undergraduates (M=2.422) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.016
B-Q52	254 Undergraduates (M=3.724) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q59	258 Undergraduates (M=2.671) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q60	258 Undergraduates (M=2.736) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q64	257 Undergraduates (M=3.195) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.001

7.6.2.5.2 Interpretation

Firstly, significant differences in means between Undergraduates/Postgraduates in SUA will be discussed. As explained in Section 7.6.1.5.2, the outcomes of the three variables reveal significant differences in means, which can be interpreted to mean that undergraduate students are more polite and careful about employing euphemisms, or consider that to do so is polite. On the other hand, postgraduate students view society and the world from a deeper level, with an awareness of more varied and broader contexts. Thus, this outcome may have been due to postgraduates' higher awareness of the complexity of language use and its relationship to society. Nevertheless, this interpretation should be interpreted with caution because, although it is derived from the outcome of the interaction of undergraduate and postgraduate students by 65 variables, it

²⁶ Table showing the outcomes of all the variables can be viewed in Appendix 21.

resulted in only three variables which could be counted for their significant differences in means.

Secondly, significant differences in means between Undergraduates/Postgraduates in SUJ will be focused upon. As well as in SUA, cases in SUJ lack legitimacy, hence the outcome contributes to an invalid interpretation. It should be remembered that 258 undergraduates are compared with only three postgraduate participants.

7.6.2.6 Summary

This section has attempted to analyse the response to RO3, to examine the target group's conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts, by the statistically demonstrated degree of the significant differences in means.

7.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the results of the questionnaire and their interpretation, concentrating on RO2 and RO3. This statistical demonstration included characteristic features of different contexts, Japanese/English native and non-native speakers' conceptualisation of and attitudes towards euphemism, and its roles. Both significant and insignificant discoveries about employment of euphemism reveal the vivid perspectives which euphemism plays an important role in interpersonal communication and contexts may alter the conceptualisations and behaviour of euphemism use.

The statistically significant differences in means for each outcome can be portrayed by three mainstream factors. First is the most trustworthy outcome produced by participants' authentic language use and their behaviours. Second is the psychological motivation, that is participants feel differently towards lexical items and their uncommon identification transmitting unique meaning from language to language. Third is the factor that participants' opinions do not always reflect reality, but rather their willingness for it to be so. As far as the second and third hypotheses can be considered,

portrayal of variables in lexical perception of euphemism will be worth analysing further, with reference to the qualitative data.

It is evident that aspects of the data draw attention to non-native speakers' perspectives. Thus, some overlapping aspects which were examined for RO2, RO3 and RO4 will be screened through the outcome of the interviews. Description and interpretation of quantitative data can be analysed more deeply when endorsed by qualitative data, details of which are to be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 8

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA OUTCOMES

8.1 INTRODUCTION

There are two ways to approach the data analysis. One way is to scrutinise the statistically collected data and identify the triggers to certain responses and behaviours. The other way is to examine the qualitatively collected data in which the participants revealed their curiosity and interests, as well as their insights, to identify patterns and themes in their responses and behaviours. Implementation of both of these research methods will validate and strengthen the data outcome and lead to more stable generalisation of the analyses. A significant characteristic of the interview is that it enables the identification of themes and issues which the participants can flexibly disclose about their perceptions without the structured framework of other methods such as questionnaires. It was strongly expected that the participants' ideas would be explicated in the interviews. Therefore qualitative analysis was used to explore in greater depth the outcomes of the quantitative data analysis, as explained extensively in the previous chapter. The qualitative analysis will be described in this chapter. This analysis will be guided by the themes categorised as main themes and sub themes explicated from the interview participants.

Two main themes and nine sub-themes were identified from the texts of the interviews. These are listed below.

Main Theme 1: POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND CENSORSHIP

Sub Theme 1: Typographical Paradox

Sub Theme 2: Sexism

Sub Theme 3: Expletives and Curses, and Racist and Ethical Prejudices

Main Theme 2: LINGUISTIC AND INTERACTIVE FUNCTIONS

Sub Theme 1: Initiative Utterances

Sub Theme 2: Politeness

Sub Theme 3: Linguistic Variety

Sub Theme 4: Topics and Jokes / Humour

Sub Theme 5: Ambiguity and Preciseness

Sub Theme 6: Concluding Utterances

The interviews, which were recorded by an audio tape-recorder, were semi-structured and took approximately one hour each. Notes were also taken during the interviews. Each taped interview was transcribed into a Word document. Thus, quotes from participants used as illustrations in this chapter were neither added to nor edited by the researcher. The Japanese participants' statements were translated by the researcher, since their interviews were conducted in Japanese. This approach is consistent with the nature of qualitative research which is to discover and investigate the detailed insights of each participant in an environment that is free of linguistic disadvantage.

All quotes, which are presented in italics, were verbatim transcripts of what was said by the participants. However, some clarifications or supplementary explanations have been indicated by ellipses and square parentheses respectively. Some lexical items and phrases requiring elaboration after translation are indicated by round parenthesis. As a result, the reader can clearly get to the point of the statements without losing the gist. Selection of suitable quotes was a challenge because the researcher's subjective view could easily affect the process. Therefore, attempts were made to select a broad and informative representative range of voices, while also taking care to maintain the balance of both the elements.

The original target groups consisted of 10 Australians who resided in Japan and 10 Japanese who were in Australia. Due to a mechanical problem with the tape-recorder, however, data were successfully collected from eight Australians, three males and five females living in different areas within Japan, and ten Japanese, five males and five females, living in Australia. This required the researcher to travel to various prefectures in Japan and several cities in Australia. The venues for the interviews varied widely including participants' homes, a private room located in a library, a common room for staff and postgraduate students, and a local coffee shop.

As each participant's anonymity had been guaranteed, codes were attached to the statements voiced by participants, rather than using their actual names. Japanese male and female participants living in Australia are coded as JM and JF, while Australian male and female participants living in Japan are abbreviated as AM and AF. In order to distinguish the difference within each of the four categories, a number was given after each abbreviation.

The purpose of the qualitative analysis was to identify the comments made by participants that were relevant to the various issues underlying some of the aspects in Research Objectives (RO) 2, 3, and most of the elements in RO4;

- RO2: To investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism.
- RO3: To examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts.
- RO4: To investigate how euphemistic expressions are handled by Japanese people leaning English as a second/foreign language and Australians learning Japanese as a second/foreign language, when faced with sociolinguistic difficulties.

Thus, thematic analysis of the qualitative data has been explored in this chapter.

8.2 POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND CENSORSHIP

Through analysis of the interview data, euphemisms were identified in terms of the issues concerning the borderline between correct and incorrect use, yet their degree and scale almost always remain transparent. This is the theme strongly associated with political correctness (PC) and censorship. PC/censorship require the clarification of the ideological divide between society and country and, moreover, between nation and the authority. Nation refers to a unit organised by people who consider that they belong to a country as citizens, while the authority consists of bureaucratic organizations, congress, police, military, and so forth (Sugimoto, 1996).

Expressions that appear to be affected by a nation's consciousness are called PC, while transformation of linguistic use due to public and official restrictions and motivation is called censorship since this is due to a state's interference. This may be the clearest distinction between PC and censored language. Under this definition, each one of us can be a PC creator, any united entity can become a censorship producer, and all locutions are capable of being utilised as politically corrected and censored expressions. Some may affirm that 'perhaps it doesn't matter what words you use as long as you know what it means' (Kleege, 1999, p. 41). Nevertheless, PC/censorship bashers distort their terms and attempt to navigate the social inclination and attitude (positively and negatively) towards the subject without exposing an overt aggressive stance. They often disregard the fact that politically corrected and censored expressions (and especially their connotations) are not decisive or powerful enough to control individual concepts as well as those of the majority unless PC/censorship and their producers' intentions are engaged critically.

The interviews with the eight Australian participants, who are all native speakers of English, and the ten Japanese participants, who are of Japanese nationality, identified multiple commonly-observed issues surrounding euphemism, which were linked to PC/censorship, and there was a variety of topics and themes regarding PC/censorship. The most significant insights into issues such as typography, sexism, expletives, curses, and racist and ethical prejudices emerged during the interviews and will be explored in the following sections.

8.2.1 Typographical Paradox

Distinctive contexts influenced by sociolinguistic factors appear as semantic restrictions, which originate from the authority's scheme, social coercion, and the limitations of available space in a document. This theme is further supported when domestic educational textbooks, especially political science and history textbooks, are compared across multiple countries. The focus of a topic is influenced primarily by the authority's attitude towards the educational ideology and the paradigm of the subject, and the consequences are apt to remain undescribed. Those restrictions can cause conflict from

non-native speakers' perspectives. For example, an Australian male interview participant who was then working at a local government office told of a contentious experience he encountered in his first task, after arriving in Japan from Australia.

I wrote a thesis on the Tokyo War Crimes Trial [when I was a university student]. ... I wrote a jikoshookai (self introduction) for Koohoo (The Public Information Section). And one of the things I wrote about was 'Watahino thesis: sotsugyooronbun wa tookyoo saiban ni tsuite (My thesis is about the Tokyo War Crimes Trial)'. They just cut out that sentence. Apparently its reason was space. But I got into a kind of fight with my Kyooikucho (Education Department chief), kacho (Head of a section) and my tantoosha (person in charge of the article), and we had a big talk about it. ... That was the only part they cut out (AM1).

AM1 overtly indicated that he believed that this conflict was influenced not only by the space limitation but also by the sociological context at that time: the Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine and history textbook reform.¹

It was just after Koizumi no Yasukuni hoomon (Prime Minister Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni shrine) and Kyookasho mondai (controversy on history textbooks), so it was really, not tense, but everyone was talking about it. I think that they said that because of the space, and they put it back in after I made a complaint. ... They basically said, 'Even though it was cut for the reason of space, they should leave it out because it's a really contentious issue ... and if you wanna put it in, that's OK. But we really think it would be better if you didn't write it and maybe later we can talk about it'. But I said, 'No, I'll have it now!'. I was very abrupt. I was so annoyed and thought they were trying to censor me. ... So I forced them to print it (AM1).

AF1 commented on a similar experience about PC and censorship. She commented about an article, citing whaling issues.²

We [AF1 herself and another girl] have to write a Kiji for Koohoo (an article for the Public Information Section)...., and one time recently I decided to write about whaling. And I put a very strong view across, of course that wasn't allowed. ... They said that it's such a political topic and it's not appropriate for citing in the newsletter. So basically after four days arguing, they had to change the wording, but it was still something I view as acceptable but to me that was normal. I thought the fact that I couldn't put the article in my column, was a bit silly. ... They still put something in my column in some form. ... But another friend; she just wrote something and they said 'No!' and just crossed it out. ... They basically rewrote it. It's her column and it's her ideas, and people who read that think she wrote it, so we have all sorts of problems... (AF1).

¹ See Chapter 5: 5.4.1.2.

² See Chapter 5: 5.4.1.1.

Their poignant insights into the conflicts and complexities of the PC and censorship and freedom of their expression can all be understood. However, their situations should be considered carefully as well. They are the ones who work for local municipalities, under the agreement of the exchange program between Japan and Australia, aiming at the internationalisation of Japan and its nations. This can be interpreted that they might not be the ones to present their personally and subjectively motivated opinions in public. It is very difficult to balance the preservation of their dignity and respect as well as management of their administrative duties.

8.2.2 Sexism

Discussion of sexism is not uncommon in English speaking countries, as discussed in Chapter 3. Most participants in this study referred to conspicuous debate about sexist language in the English-speaking world, which is not evident in Japanese society. Sufficient attention has not yet been given to this issue by Japanese at the unofficial level but has been gradually becoming the issue at the official level. This theory comes from the fact that distinctive points were not made clearly by Japanese participants. Instead, JM2's comments could be an intriguing insight to validate the researcher's theory:

Writers' attitudes and awareness about sexism-related expressions have been boosted in Japan, so I do not recall very much difficulty regarding the editing of sexism-linked expressions. ... This is because the writers themselves are the experts in this area so If I had encountered some books written by non-experts, it might have been difficult (JM2).

From the native speakers' perspective, the nature of the linguistically motivated sexist worldview was rarely discovered. This rationalised the concept that people take their first language for granted, and euphemism is not an exception. This idea is extended in the case of the target language use, as pointed out by AF3.

When I use euphemism, I am not actually thinking. I am not even aware that it is a euphemism. I think that's why it's difficult to find euphemism.... Not to know. I probably use a lot but don't even realise that they are regarded as euphemism. It's just natural to use it (AF3).

The Australian participants in Japan did not conspicuously employ sexist verbalisms while using Japanese. Instead, they frequently encountered situations in which they observed the presence of disparate social structures between Japan and Australia. The interview revealed strong differences in in-depth conceptualisation and attitudes towards the way to progress with conversation in contact situations in Japan, using Japanese as the medium.

I would probably use the same language for both [men and women], but I noticed the difference in their speech back to me. ... It's more the feeling I get. ... He was an older man, so not so much that I am a foreigner, but more I am a younger woman, so a little bit less polite back to me. For men of kind of my age, or middle age, I don't notice it so much. But definitely the older generation, I notice it (AF5).

On the other hand, the following comments by AF3 indicated that being a foreigner promoted her status in the area, rather than emphasising a gender difference.

I think ... [gender] is something I am not so aware of in English. ... I don't think I use different phrases when I am talking to males or females in Japan so much. That's still because of my language level (AF3).

In the region where AF3 was living and working at the time the interview was conducted, there is still a very traditional situation in which the social status of females is lower than that of males. As a foreigner, she felt that she was somehow accepted and treated as equivalent to a male. So in Japanese society, there is a mutually decided hierarchy, rating Japanese males, foreigners (guests) and Japanese females differently.

In English-speaking contexts, Japanese participants as non-native speakers could not identify a deep sense of sexism-linked language use. This might be because of their language limitations, but it is more plausible to assume that they tend not to consider that sexist language use exists in various situations they encounter.

Rather than gender distinction, [it is more] how much you know about the person. That differentiates one's speech style, I think. ... It does not matter about age to me, either (JF1).

In response to the difference between the lexical items in the case of various titles of address, it seems that Japanese participants living in Australia are apt to have more problems with using first names only to address people with no obvious title.

I felt guilty about calling my teachers by their first name, not calling them such as Mr, Mrs, and Ms in the manner we learned in English lessons at school [in Japan] (JF5).

In terms of gender differentiation of third person singular pronouns in English, there are indications that many people are not comfortable to use *they* and prefer to practise the exact lexical item to indicate the main subject of the sentence.³ In the Japanese context, problematic elements confusing the practice of non-identified subjects in a sentence, such as *I (watashi)*, *you (anata)*, *he (kare)*, *she (kanojyo)*, and *they (karera)* are often omitted so long as the context can indicate them. This is another element which complicates English speakers' interactions in Japanese, as identified by AF5. In response to the question about comfort with the absence of a subject in a Japanese sentence, she explained;

It's very hard. Even now, I often check when somebody is talking to me, 'You mean, him or her, or this or that?' When I speak [Japanese], I know that I probably say too much, like the subject or topic (AF5).

Deletion of the subject from sentences contributes to the perplexity of non-native speakers of Japanese, since even in an interaction between Japanese interlocutors, they consistently clarify who is addressing whom and about what. This can lead to vagueness about the content of the statement, with older people being more likely to speak in this style than their younger counterparts.⁴

Old people still talk very very vaguely. But people my age and younger are much clearer. ... Younger people are much more direct (AF5).

8.2.3 Swearing

Euphemism is heavily influenced by the politeness of, the interlocutors and can show their intimacy. Thus they appear in an interaction, as colloquialisms or so-called swearwords. The presence of expletives and/or taboo language, even with less offensive connotations, often upsets the non-native speakers of the target language, due to their lack of understanding about its use, which promotes negative impressions of English as

³ See Chapter 3: 3.2.1.1.

⁴ See Section 8.3.3.2.

perceived by Japanese participants in Australia. One clear example of this aspect was commented by JF1:

People's language use is quite dirty. Swearwords are used quite often. Depending on the person though, older people do use them, and also the younger generation does without much hesitation. From a Japanese cultural perspective, this picture cannot be acceptable. ... Some men do even in Japan, but women probably don't. Here [in Australia], even older females do (JF1).

The above comment does not indicate that Japanese excludes any swearwords or their equivalents, but they lack both the quantity and richness of this type of language use; for example, *chikushou*, *kusotare*, *bakayarou*, and their equivalents are the only ones currently employed in Japanese and they imply a far less expletive sense than English swearwords.

If I'm 80% angry, then Japanese is enough. If I'm 100% angry, then maybe English is better, because Japanese swear words really aren't that bad. ... It is not as much variety in Japanese, and it's not really that bad. Like if your mother overheard you, it's still OK. But if my mother overheard me swearing in English, it would not be OK, because English swear words are really bad (AF2).

Every time he walked into the room, I got, 'Oh, kuso-gaijin (fucking foreigner)' [in the school classroom where she had been teaching English] (AF4).

[I use it]. That's because I live with my boyfriend. I think it's affected a lot by people around you. So I never use it at work; 'kuso', 'kisama' (AF2).

I think I've only ever seen about two or three words that seem to be used. I think what I noticed most is watching English movies that have Japanese subtitles. ... No matter what they say, the same Japanese word comes up on the subtitles. So I find that it's not a good variety of swearwords.... 'Kuso' is the one that always seems to be used. In English, bitch or stupid bitch for 'aho' or just 'baka' or something like that (AF3).

Regarding AF3's comment, from the native Japanese speakers' perspective, JM1 explained the different connotations contained in *aho* and *kuso*, depending on the region.

In Kansai region, in a general sense, the lexical term 'aho' is expressed along with intimacy with the interlocutors. 'Baka' implies an idiot and non-smartness (JM1).

Transmission of the intuitive sense accommodated in the target language is rarely accomplished by non-native speakers of the target language. This could be a major

factor restricting the target language use, especially with reference to expletives and curses.

Even using it I do not get the sense, I mean it does not match to my feeling because it is not created by my first language. ... So I do not use it much (JF2).

It's almost impossible to swear in Japanese. ... because there aren't a lot of swear words. Well, there are, like 'kuso' ... English is rich in swearing language. ... In Japanese the level of the language you use indicates more than the words you use, or what you are actually saying. So I find it's much more unspoken. I find it harder to understand it. You can show contempt for someone either by tone, or voice, or the actual words you use can show you are disrespectful (AM1).

From Japanese participants' perspectives regarding English usage, attempts to avoid particular terms occur commonly as the safe way to avoid offending people. The ability of Japanese participants in Australia to distinguish the difference between the terms they use and ones they try not to use may be due to the influence of the lack of both quality and quantity of expletives and curses in Japanese, which accelerates the supplemental negative impressions about those lexical items in English, that can be seen by them as extraordinary.

Maybe people around me do use much swearing [and it reminds me how bad it is], so that I don't use it. Even if someone used it when talking with me, I wouldn't use it, because I don't like it. Even if I use it, I would be doubtful whether nor not the use is appropriate in a given context (JM3).

On the other hand, Australian participants in Japan found that the quality of the Japanese contempt can be decided by the style the addressor engages rather than demonstrating the mainstream lexical items.

... in Japanese, you would say 'ike' (command form: imperative for 'to go') or 'ikinasai' (command form for 'to go'), instead of saying, 'ittekudasai' (requesting someone to go for you). They think [they are] better than you. So I think Japanese swearing is not about words. It's about higher and lower, showing who is more important. ... In Japanese, how I say and what I am saying is more important. ... 'ike' and 'ikinasai'. They don't mean exactly the same thing. They are very, very different ideas (AM1).

In Japan, I think it's more how you say it rather than the actual word itself. I think it's true in English as well. ... I do know that there are some bad words in Japanese, [but] I don't think I use them nearly as often as in English (AM2).

A similar situation occurred in relation to other expletive lexicons, for example, ones having racist (skin colour) overtones, which were singled out by JM2 in his first language (Japanese), when he was working in publishing houses.

Yes, I do remember that I was cautious when handling expressions linked to black people and minority people (JM2).

In terms of racially and ethically motivated euphemism, there was a huge cognitive gap between the two groups of participants from native and non-native speakers' perspectives. *Jap* and *Asian*, rather than Japanese, were the most offensive lexical items described by the Japanese interviewees residing in Australia, while *gaijin* (foreigner) was mentioned as the most frequent pejorative term that causes offence from the perspective of the Australian participants living in Japan. The interviews did not informatively identify the conceptualisations and attitudes held by the native speakers of Japanese towards the terms *Jap* and *Asian* in Australian contexts. However, surprisingly, Australian participants speaking Japanese in Japan had an entirely different perspective about the term *gaijin* from the general concept held by native speakers of Japanese. In response to the question about how they feel about the term, most seemed to be fully aware of this lexical item that is associated with PC.

I know the differences and there is a political thing about it. ... 'Gaikokujin' (foreigner as a PC word) is very polite, and I find that older people tend to use it. Then probably middle-aged people might say 'gaijinsan' (lit., Mr./Ms. Foreigner). And definitely younger people say just 'gaijin'. Even though it has a negative meaning, and literally it means outside person, there are some critical problems with that word. Some foreigners are probably upset about it. But some people say, 'Yeah whatever'. It's not the most important thing (AF5).

Based on her empirical account, AF5 also compared the Japanese view about foreigners with Australian counterparts.

If there is a room where there are just lots of different foreigners, and the Japanese person walks into the room, party or some kind of situation, s/he sometimes, says 'Kokusaiteki' (international). ... If I went to a party in Australia, nobody would say, 'Oh, isn't this international?' (AF5).

In response to the term *kokusaiteki*, which contains positive connotations from a native Japanese speakers' perspective, she explained:

To me it's like they are making a statement, saying, 'Oh, look at those different people!', that kind of feeling. ... In a smaller country town, it's not such an unusual thing (AF5).

In the Australian contexts, the lexical item *foreigner* is uncommon. From the perspective of native speakers of English, AF2 represents their conventional ideas:

I haven't heard the term 'foreigner' a lot in Australia. ... Like this is my country, and that is your country. Are you from Asia or are you from China? ... We tend to put nationality or country name rather than 'Oh, you are a foreigner' (AF2).

Perspectives of non-native speakers are repeatedly influenced by PC, and distinctive insight can be identified:

'Gaijinsan'; I don't like. Gaijin; I don't like. I can use 'gaijin', but you can't, I feel. And 'gaikokujin' is what I want everyone to call me (AF4).

After the above comment, it was briefly explained by the researcher that, from the Japanese perspective, *gaijinsan* contains a very soft feeling and indicates friendliness towards people from other countries. Some Australian participants' disclosed their strongly contrasting opinions to that. This may be because of the non-native speakers' sense of sticking to the PC/censorship use standardised by the authority, disregarding Japanese ideas and feelings towards each term.

'Gaijinsan' is the one I hate the most, actually, because it's usually used in your presence, too. ... Doesn't sound soft to me at all. Doesn't sound any better. I know they are trying to make it sound better. I think people put san in the end of it and everything is better, but it's not. ... All my 'gaijin friends', we all say 'gaijin' about ourselves. It's a kind of joke. ... I think we can use gaijin for ourselves but we don't want to be called 'gaijin' (AF4).

... I am not annoyed if people around me call me 'gaikokujin'. But I hate 'gaijin'. Definitely not. Even more I hate 'gaijinsan'. I don't feel any difference between 'gaijin' and 'gaijinsan', after putting 'san' (AF2).

AF2 considered that *gaikokujin* is better than other terms. Although *gaikokujin* has been formed as a solid PC term (Kisha Handbook, 2001), she tried to exclude the word, instead attempting to use *person from overseas* (*kaigai kara no hito*) when she sometimes had opportunities to write an article. There is a presence of a unique sense of a third position, between native and non-native speakers' language use. This

interculturally-motivated unique sense could contribute to another distinctive characteristic of the euphemistic expressions created by non-native speakers of the target language.

The pejorative *gaijin* (*foreigner/s*) in Japanese, does not transfer any sense of exclusiveness to most Japanese people, and is a widely utilised lexical term to describe those from overseas. It is commonly engaged within daily linguistic habit, rather than *gaikokujin* which is the PC term (Elwood, 2001; Sasaki, 1994; Tada, 1996). The majority of vocabulary in Japanese comprises either Chinese or Japanese-originated words.⁵ Within Japanese original words lie numerous two-syllable words, while there is a variety of Chinese-originated four-syllable words. It is common in the Japanese language to witness the combining of two different Chinese-originated words in order to coin a word (which is a word with eight phonograms), and then shorten it to one with four phonograms. Japanese people are inclined to feel more comfortable with four-phonogram (or four-mora) words, and this subconscious attitude may underlie the use/overuse of *gaijin*. *Gaikokujin*, on the other hand, does not convey any negative or hostile sentiments corresponding to a sense of ostracism and so is often preferred by foreigners (Honna, 1995; Sasaki, 1994).⁶ This factor was understood by some Australian participants and explained with insight into the Japanese mind about this label.

Japanese people don't say 'gaijin' to me. They don't mean badly by it. It just comes out. ... In the Japanese mind, 'gaijin' is 'hakujin' (white people). ... Even Japanese people who go overseas and they see a white person like a Caucasian, they go, 'Oh, gaijin da!' (There is a foreigner!). And I'm like, 'No, you are the gaijin!' (AF2).

As demonstrated above, *gaijin* could be as one of the most typical lexical items representing the sense of difference between native and non-native speakers of Japanese, encountered by Australian participants. However, the following statement slightly contradicts the above two examples:

Depends on how they use it, too. Like if an old man says, 'gaijin da', or young kids.... I think they are just words. But I feel quite upset if people talk to me directly using the word. I use 'gaijin' a lot. I think 'gaikokujin' is a lot softer.

⁵ See more extensive discussion in Chapter 4: 4.2.2.1.

⁶ As explained in Chapter 4: 4.3.1.

And easier on the ear. But I understand when people say 'gaijin', they don't mean anything offensive. When I first came to Japan, I would have been a bit upset. ... But now you can tell if they mean something by it can be annoying sometimes but not offensive. ... I think 'gaijin' is the strongest. And 'gaikokujin'. 'Gaijinsan' is the weakest. ... To me 'gaijinsan' - 'san' is more respectful. I would be happier to hear 'Oh, gaijinsan da (There is a foreigner!)' (AM2).

It can be interpreted that the taste and level of the lexical term can be decided by how interlocutors use them, rather than being inherent in the lexical items themselves. At the same time, the receiver's knowledge of the target language and the speaker's intention in a given situation will function differently. This vital element is conventionally ignored in legalese, which is apt to distinguish either of two extreme sides. A similar type of picture can also be observed in non-native speakers' perspectives.⁷

Terms associated with PC/censorship can become tasteless, resulting in the rendering of its connotation and denotation. If these terms do not represent their functions, alternatives will be applied due to social demands. In other words, our society is one that produces PC/censored terms, which breed further PC/censored terms. Significant elements in our linguistic habits and patterns have not only been contributed to by the prohibition of politically incorrect (PIC) and censored terms but also by one's perception. Having considered those implications, JM2 commented about the dissimilar attitudes toward linguistic restrictions in Australia and in Japan.

My impression is that, somehow, there is less language restriction in Australia than in Japan. In terms of the Bali incidents, for example, Australia attempts to analyse the issue from various directions. ... [The amount of] verbatim being employed in Japan cannot be observed in Australia. ... compared with the Japanese newspaper articles about the kidnapping of Japanese people by North Korea, which by avoiding the controversial phraseology of both sides can be monitored very clearly. Of course, these are different issues: the Bali incident published in Australia can be viewed and more openly analysed (JM2).

When I worked in publishing, ... before September 11, we were not especially careful about that. In my opinion, topics linked to Islam give extra nervousness to the publishers, because of a simple [and naïve] formula: Moslems equal terrorists. This impression could be formed very easily in the present days (JM2).

⁷ See Chapter 3: 3.2.1.2.

JM2 also shared his experience regarding the PC/censorship of racial/ethnic issues;

[When I was in the publishers] *I handled quite a large number of books relating to Jews. Some asserted that Jews are conquering the whole world and Japan and its policy have fallen into a snare created by the Jewish, etc. ... Some writers sent me something like that, so regarding that issue, yes, I needed extra concern* (JM2).

This section has suggested that social tendency and public views can have a striking influence on the formation of PC/censorship. One's PC is another's commonly-used language and no difference can be discovered.

8.3 LINGUISTIC AND INTERACTIVE FUNCTIONS

As discussed so far, euphemism and its various social communicative functions conventionally tend to occur the most frequently within mainstream topics such as PC and censorship. It is a natural phenomenon for people to draw their attention to these potentially controversial issues and themes. However, discourse implemented in daily life can also be considered as a vital resource for collecting data about euphemism, containing numbers of euphemisms and euphemistic expressions as significant linguistic and interactive functions. The two previously mentioned themes are interwoven and the borderline between them can hardly be defined, whereas the themes strongly associated with them were clearly demonstrated by the interview participants. This section concentrates upon the major difficulties of communicating in contact situations in which participants seemed to struggle, along with recording their opinions as subsequently interpreted by the researcher.

It is difficult to distinguish various linguistic and interactive functions because they are embedded in the interdisciplinary themes and are implemented cross-culturally. Consequently six sub-themes, initiative utterances, politeness, linguistic variety, topics and jokes/humour, ambiguity and preciseness, and concluding utterances are highlighted, endorsed by the characteristic opinions described by the participants below.

8.3.1 Initiative Utterances

It is a conventional conception that euphemisms are matters of simple lexical items and exist only in their isolated lexical environment out of the communicatively motivated contexts. However, communication can never function without a medium, which is in fact a language in the case of most human communication. Messages produced in any language are established by lexical items which have a huge influence on the quality of the communication. Thus, lexical items as euphemisms, being one of the lexical criteria, are not only concerned with the smallest units to make up a sentence, but they also play a significant role in designing the mode of the entire communication. The interview participants revealed their insights regarding this particular point, which is worth noting here.

Phatic communion, identified by Bronislaw Malinowski and which includes ice-breakers, verbalism and superficial interaction, conveys non-information in a practical way and does not affect the core of the discussion itself, and in fact it serves as a meaningful practice for the interlocutors to interact smoothly (as cited in Condon, Jr., 1966, also cited in Hasegawa, 2004). The simple constitution of this type of communication, which is questions and responses, could be assumed as an easy communication task. Nevertheless, phatic communication seems to be one of the major stumbling blocks in an oral interaction. In the interviews, Japanese participants stated strongly that they easily fall into confusion when communicating with native speakers of English at this stage, so that they are likely to wait for others to approach them, rather than approaching others.

The occasions I am asked some question are more than those I initiate. So I do not raise any questions very much (JF2).

Consider below the perspectives of Japanese using English as the communication medium, despite their sufficient fluency and ability in English.

I cannot get into their conversation, and even when they offer a chance to me, I don't have anything much to say because of my insufficient knowledge (JM4).

It can be assumed that they are aware of those situations and have strategic plans to cope with them, even though they are still apt to wait for others to initiate the conversation.

When someone asks me a question, I try not to end up with only 'Yes' or 'No'. Rather, I try to expand the conversation from that point. I am not extremely sociable so that there are many situations where others ask me first (JM3).

I am a Japanese so naturally others wonder why I came to Australia, what I am doing in this country, and how long I have been studying English, etc. Such topics will definitely arise when encountering people I have met for the first time. So regarding the first initiatives [to talk to strangers in a meeting], it cannot be said that it is easy, but I have been coping with it well... (JM2).

Coping in this situation seems to be linked consistently to the degree of the previous knowledge and can be observed by Japanese English speakers. From a native speakers' perspective, this is very much a common phenomenon, as JM1 described:

I wanted to know what type of things the person I am talking to is interested in. From that point, topics of conversation can be developed. For example, if he/she likes fishing, where and when does he/she go fishing, etc. At least I could flexibly develop the topics to maintain the conversation if Japanese was used (JM1).

Thus it is a natural consequence for Japanese people to commence a smooth conversation with people whom they already know or about whom they have gained sufficient previous information.

... I can easily approach ones who are good at Japanese, or ones who obviously favour Japan and Japanese culture, etc (JF3).

On the other hand, the perspective of Australian participants who use Japanese as a communication medium does not describe the level at which they can launch their conversation, but more fundamentally, the struggle with Japanese people's reaction to their Japanese use, such as flattering their Japanese:

[Many Japanese people say] 'Oooh, your Japanese is so good!', even though it wasn't great (AM1).

Another point which emerged from the interviews with Australian participants was the responding behaviour of the native speakers of Japanese, utilising code-switching in pivotal ways. In addition, this can be viewed in their first language, English, rather than Japanese.

Some people try and speak words in English. So sometimes, you will ask a question in Japanese, they will answer you in English. Not very good English, 'left', 'right', 'stop, stop'. Even if you're speaking perfect Japanese, it doesn't register, and they just speak English to you. And then 30 seconds later, [they ask] 'Nihongo wakaru (Do you understand/speak Japanese?)'. And sometimes they are the opposite. I know a lot of friends who speak English and a person answers them in Japanese (AM2).

Sometimes I do speak Japanese occasionally. ... Many Japanese have a barrier so that even if you speak Japanese, it doesn't penetrate. For example, if I say, 'Ima nanji desuka' (What time is it now?), and they say, 'Itsu faibu okurokku (It's five o'clock) [in Japanese accent]' in bad English (AF4).

In the early ice-breaking stage of a conversation, Australian participants commented about another case of frustration arising from receiving some physical criticism from native-speakers of Japanese.

Japanese people tend to ask age a lot and at a very early stage of a conversation, whereas Australian people don't seem to put such an importance on age (AF2).

Japanese people tend... not to mind asking a foreigner, like your weight, your height, whether you live alone, or where you live. Like straight out. The things [that] are considered private in Australia, Japanese people don't seem to mind (AF2).

... I find many Japanese people point out things like weight or appearance, ah, can be very critical. Ah..., very directly, openly. ... In Australia, we wouldn't say those things to someone. So it's quite shocking to hear. And it's constant as well. ... Curiosity can be direct (AF3).

Obviously this type of interrogation arises from Japanese people's intrinsic curiosity, and is not consciously taken to be offensive in a critical sense. Nevertheless, it is a conventional part of the ice-breaker in Japanese contexts. This is rationalised by the fact that they will never raise those questions to people who are patently senior, of exceptionally short height, or extremely overweight.

If this is not the case, they finish the ignition stage of the conversation with silence. If there is nothing much to say, it does not necessarily mean that the silent one is unhappy to get into a communication or has inappropriate attitudes, at least in the Japanese

context. Nevertheless, this would be the dilemma which is encountered by Japanese English speakers.

People in Australia seem to feel uncomfortable about being silent. For example, 'What did you do yesterday or on the weekend?' etc. Something trifling or unimportant is asked frequently. ... Just now my friend and I were talking about this; in Japanese, we do not ask much about those. ... her boyfriend is Australian and she said to me that she was told off by her boyfriend for not usually asking anything like that (JF4).

We do not ask others about what you did [on the weekend], etc. in Japan (JF1).

This dilemma was also clearly commented on by an Australian participant, whose Japanese was at very advanced level, in addition to having adopted Japanese customs and behaviour to a great extent.

When I come back [to Australia], I feel strange because suddenly people are speaking to me quite personally, wanting to know 'How are you doing?', 'What are you doing at the weekend?', 'Did you have a nice weekend?' or 'Are you shopping today?', or something like that. I hesitate to give that personal information, but they force me to do it (AF5).

In order to break through this difficulty, recognition of linguistically motivated diversity and euphemistic behaviour should be acquired by Japanese participants living in Australia.

[Rather than waiting to be spoken to], you must be the one who speaks to others about something, like weather, meals, or whatever. I keep it in my mind to be the one to commence the conversation. Sentences such as 'This is nice and delicious, isn't it?' could potentially be responded to with, 'So what?' in Japanese, but expressing your opinions in English is very important. ... I would not do that if [the medium is] Japanese in Japan (JM1).

It can be imagined that from Australian perspectives gained from living in Japan, there are two mainstream contexts identified, (1) is the native speakers' conventional reactions to the use of their Japanese and (2) critical comments about physical appearance. Context (1) can be divided further into two categories: (a) native speakers of Japanese code-switching when speaking to native English speakers but doing so with extremely limited English, and (b) euphemistically uttered complementary clichés about the excellence of Japanese language use by Australian participants. Category (a) is not an

unusual phenomenon but understandable since language can be delivered and developed by imitation of others. As for category (b), where non-native speakers of English are praised for their high level of English ability even in Australia, this intended compliment seems to be regarded as extraordinary by Australian participants in Japan. After mentioning this, AF4 excitedly raised her voice and responded that Japanese frequently forget the reality that foreigners can speak Japanese.

I can't sit here and listen to that... because Japanese are Number 1 in the world like that. If I say, 'Konnichiwa' (Hello), [they say,] 'Ojyoozudesune' (That is excellent) [with extraordinary reaction and clapping], so ... I know Australian people maybe have an image that Asians cannot speak English, but Japanese' [image] is even worse (AF4).

As for response, mostly phrases such as *Iie (no)* or *Madamada desu (not at all yet)* are utilised as clichés. In some sense, apart from their in-depth perception, this type of exchange functions properly as a vital ice-breaker for a verbal interaction.

Also, the latter type of reaction created by native speakers of Japanese irritated several of the Australian participants. AF1's comment clearly described her discomfort in a given context.

Sometimes it gets too ridiculous, because they direct something very simple that I understand but they insist on explaining, as if they are talking to a baby or something. ... They were saying things like 'go, go' or 'matsuri, matsuri', instead of saying 'Hinamatsuri' (a festival of celebrating)...', They just use [English] words basically. ... And I am speaking to them in Japanese whole sentences. But they respond as if I am speaking English (AF1).

The cause of this situation was pinpointed by other Australian participants.

I think basically Japanese people don't expect foreigners to speak Japanese (AM1).

I look foreign. So people tend to expect me not to understand. So they talk in their expectation that I don't understand. In my own country [Australia], it's a little bit different though. In Japan people look at me and obviously I don't look ethnically Japanese. So their first idea is 'You don't speak Japanese. You don't speak Japanese like native Japanese' (AM3).

In terms of the context (2), Australian participants identified this as unmannerly and blunt phraseology created by Japanese critical judgements. AF4 shares the lament.

Whenever people say, 'Ookii desune (You are big, aren't you?)', I don't know if they are meaning tall or fat. So I think, 'Why do you say such a rude thing?'. ... My neighbour is Turkish. She gets comments, like, 'Your eyebrows are really thick, aren't they?' (AF4).

In contrast, these subjects are more neutral to Japanese people and are conventional patterns used to ignite the conversation. People from overseas who encounter a contact situation in Japan would require sufficient opportunities to be informed about this type of euphemism and communication strategies.

8.3.2 Politeness

All euphemisms are related directly to politeness because politeness is the social factor leading to the use of euphemism. It was clear that the interview participants had many insights into this issue, as will be discussed in this section. Due to the risk of disclosing embarrassing experiences, the topic of politeness was handled with extreme caution in the interviews by non-native speakers of the target language. It is very common for Australian participants to encounter difficulties with Japanese honorifics *keigo*, which consists of two main categories: addressee honorifics and referent honorifics. Referent honorifics are comprised of a further two sub-categories, namely respect honorifics and humble honorifics (Iwasaki, 2002).

Addressee honorifics express the speaker's politeness toward the addressee and/or the level of formality appropriate to the situation. This is expressed by the *-masu* ending of a verb and the *desu* form of the copula (*degozaimasu* is a hyper polite form of the copula) (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 295).

Referent honorifics exalt a person who is part of the referential information expressed in a sentence. This can be done either by showing respect to a particular person or by humbling another (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 295).

Euphemistic expressions in Japanese are also derived from these honorific categories after consideration of the context, timing and situation. Since Australian participants living and working in Japan are mostly employed in local municipal offices and are

responsible for their officially designated language-related roles, these contexts contributed to their daily awareness of politeness in their Japanese usage.

You always assess the level of politeness. And that can be more obvious sometimes in Japanese with honorifics: keigo. That's also obvious in English. But in any conversation, you always level up listeners or speakers... (AM3).

It's difficult to understand who you should use, what level you should be using to what person. ... We do have some polite ways of saying things in English but not necessarily a very strict system (AF3).

People tend to take the ordinary situations and elements for granted and single out the distinctions, which would rarely be observed from native speakers' perspectives of their first language. From non-native speakers' perspectives, this picture was clearly portrayed in the interviews, especially concentrating on the politeness of the language use, which is one of the mainstream motivations creating euphemism. In the case of social context in Japan, power structures should not be overlooked. Most of the interviewees who commented on *keigo*, seemed to find difficulty with this aspect which is supposed to be understood instinctively. AF4 expressed the frustration she experienced in the Japanese professional environment.

Nobody ever says, 'This person is the most important', 'This person is not important', 'You have to be polite to this person'. Nobody ever explains that to you but, ... they want you to act in certain ways. For outsiders, it's hard to know what's going on. Nobody explains that to you very clearly (AF4).

A clear indicator of the reality of this problem was experienced by AF5, comparing the difference between her experience as a school English teacher and a journalist. Her experience as a school teacher was not comfortable, she admitted;

However, when I am doing journalism, I feel like I've got extra..., like I am given special status. And I can go and do things regular Japanese people can't. And I'm given privileges other people couldn't have, and I've been treated well because I was interested in Japanese and they are happy to tell me.... It's a kind of mix of experiences (AF5).

Those politeness strategies do not have to be utilised excessively in the target language. From the perspective of native speakers of Japanese, the fact that English does not contain the Japanese equivalent to *keigo* makes them feel slightly more comfortable. At

the same time, this fact might contribute to the anxiety that the target language use could be seen as impolite by native speakers, or at least from the Japanese perspective towards English use.

There are some words/ expressions with which you need to be careful about the usage due to 'jyoogekankai' (relationship between people at higher and those at lower rank). Therefore, I don't pay attention much to them when using English. So maybe I say something impolite. ... In the reverse manner, I am more careful about using Japanese (JM3).

I think I more often consider and employ rich verbalism and locution when using Japanese than English, probably because of my limited vocabulary.... ... When representing the same meaning of the sentence, I can express it in a politer manner in Japanese. I feel that I am unconsciously considering more carefully about politeness when using Japanese, especially when encountering someone for the first time (JM2).

It is natural that nobody wishes anyone to consider himself/herself impolite or rude in their second/foreign language use. To overcome the politeness issue, most attempt to employ several particular structures stored in their minds.

I tried to use 'would' or 'could' for 'I would like to', 'I would be grateful if...' and so on, not much 'please' though. ... So when contacting my friends by e-mail, they sometimes ask me why I was engaging in such extremely polite expressions (JM2).

It is conventional but 'Do you mind...', 'Could you...' etc. Recently I try to use 'Would you...', rather than 'Could you...'. ... I consciously use them (JF3).

When I ask a favour, like borrowing something, 'Could you' or 'I am just wondering' and that type of euphemisms are often consciously used (JM1).

'Do you mind...' or 'Would you mind if...'. That's about it, may be. I am not quite sure what polite expressions suit best in a given situation. ... I try as much as possible not to speak directly ... (JM4).

The target language is sometimes used in an excessively polite manner, which is possibly due to the politeness strategies. Avoiding being impolite by a deliberate employment of particularly polite phrases might potentially result in their feeling that they overuse the uniformed and specific phrases. Several participants addressed this point.

I recently discovered that my use of English was extremely polite (JF1).

Because I don't know much about the frank use of English, my English is usually expressed more politely than the level I intend to express. ..., But I believe it is not due to characteristic linguistic differences between English and Japanese, but who you are talking to (JF5).

I might be using Japanese in a rougher manner than English. Because of my dialect, people may be taking my Japanese as being rough (JF2).

Others admitted that their target language use might be slightly blunter than their first language. This is because of their inability to understand the semantic depth of the target language or lack of alternative expressions revealed in a euphemistic manner.

I feel that I am more straightforward and a bit more selfish in English [than Japanese] (JF3).

In Japanese I don't know the euphemism words for a lot of things so I 'chokusetsu yuu' (speak directly). So I almost speak like an elementary school student. ... I don't think I use much euphemism in Japanese at all (AF2).

These statements may also verify the presence of considerable personal character and behaviour transformation.

I found that, a lot of times, a lot of people want to speak to me in English. And I find that speaking to people in Japanese and speaking to them in English, they are very different when they are speaking in English, because they are also more direct. They would say what they couldn't say in Japanese. ... I think that's one thing about it. If they are speaking in English, then they don't have to worry about all the levels of language they have to abide by, whereas in Japanese they have been doing that all their life; that's very hard (AM2).

The assumption about character shift indicated by AM2 might suggest that it is appropriate that characters of the target language speakers do not differ, instead the way of speaking and expressing their feelings reflect the language they are using and the application of socially-constructed rules.

From the perspective of non-native speakers of Japanese in regard to attitudes towards politeness, *keigo* plays a significant role. They considered *keigo* as two dichotomised considerations; (1) anxiety about using *keigo* incorrectly, which may cause a serious

offence or (2) fatalism as there is nothing they can do instantly. As for handling the *keigo*, several participants indicated that they simply avoid them for the fear of incorrect use. AF3's comment especially focused upon this point;

Yes. ... We learned the very simple phrases first and we don't know the euphemism sometimes to use in certain situations so we can cause offence by using the simple way of saying something... (AF3).

In Japanese, we were taught at what level you should use this phrase, or this should be used in this situation when learning Japanese. But while living in Japan, we might just naturally learn particular euphemisms that are used in situations and therefore we wouldn't think about where they have to be used at what time or what level.... I think that's why we worry so much about 'keigo' because we were taught that we have to get it right... (AF3).

On the contrary, optimistic opinions and positive attitudes towards *keigo* were also expressed by others;

I am learning more now. ... I understand them and the people I [should] use them to, but I don't speak them naturally. And I can't [identify] the situations [in which] I [should] bring them out. ... If I was a Japanese, I would probably be considered very, very rude in Japanese. ... I'm guessing Japanese people are making an exception for me and don't expect me to use 'keigo' when or where I should (AM1).

I also find that even young people in the office have the same kind of trouble. Even Japanese people have trouble using it, but now I've been using 'keigo' for three years. Sometimes a new person or I meet someone who has just entered the workforce, and my 'keigo' is slightly better. Not better, but I can see other people's mistakes. I don't know if I can call it better (AM2).

After confirming AM2's critical view implying the improvement of his confidence, he spontaneously reconfirmed:

Yeah, more confident, of course. Personally I am not worried about making mistakes (AM2).

There is indeed the potential that 'an error in *keigo* tends to arouse an instantaneous emotional reaction' (Niyekawa, 1991, p. 13). The engagement with *keigo* in contact situations with native speakers of Japanese is conspicuously considered as a more effective way to promote communicative skills. In order to tackle this politeness-linked segment in Japanese, consistent application of particular verb-ending forms *desu/masu* is

a popular strategy, rather than engaging with *keigo*. It should be noted that Japanese *desu/masu* forms are formally practised forms and connote neutral meanings. It is conventional that almost all verbs introduced at the early beginners' level are attached with these forms.

Sometimes ... I just use 'desu/masu' (basic polite form differing from 'keigo'), because I would much prefer to use the polite form, like 'desu/masu form', and be perfect rather than insulting someone by using 'keigo' mistakenly. So I take the safe route (AF2).

Supporting the notion that this is due to the fact that non-native speakers of Japanese do not have to worry about making grammatical mistakes, AM2 instantly admitted:

I think so. I think you are right there. It's safe, a safer way of using it (AM2).

From rationalising those comments, the explanation given by AF2, who was employed as a public servant, sounds plausible.

Sometimes I consciously don't use 'ultra keigo', so that they realise that I am not Japanese. The reason [for not using keigo and her role to be employed by the program] is to internationalise Japan, not for us to be 'Japanised' (AF2).

Emulation of native speakers' utterances was also a technique detected in the interviews. This was singled out in terms not only of Australian but also Japanese towards their second/foreign language use.

I find myself just copying what other people are saying. But sometimes I get confused [with the difference between] 'omachishiteorimasu' (one is waiting for you / looking forward to meeting you) [and] 'omachininattekudasai' (please wait). ... In a normal conversation, it doesn't come out freely. It's not natural for me to use 'keigo' yet (AF2).

I try to keep my personality. Sometimes I said the wrong thing and sometimes they didn't tell me. But I try to keep my way of expressing things and of course, sometimes, it was too 'eigoppoi' (English-like). But they could understand [and] they didn't tell me like, 'Oh, don't say that!'. ... Eventually I've seen people and copy and watch what they do. So I am always watching other people (AF5).

I find that the way I learn to speak Japanese is by copying what other people say. And it really depends on the people who I am around. So sometimes if I am around people a bit younger and say things a bit more directly, I'll speak directly, whereas for a lot of older people, I am more careful about speaking directly. Sometimes I won't speak my mind directly (AM2).

I usually imitate someone else. I feel that 'As long as that person uses it, I can use it, too'. I can hardly distinguish the difference [between polite forms] (JM3).

As for the discussion referring back to *keigo*, the employment of phraseology in a polite manner could potentially contribute to the formation of distance between interlocutors, which might be considered as impolite.

I think it's probably a choice of mine because, being an Australian, I like to feel more friendly towards people and using 'keigo' is very distancing. ... Sometimes I don't even use 'desu/masu keigo', though, because I have a good relationship with my people at work. Even [though] I understand respected 'tate/yoko society' and difference, I behave more like 'yoko' rather than 'tate' (AF1).⁸

After having acknowledged that formality can easily turn into impoliteness, AF1 reiterated that the Japanese politeness strategies require more concentration of the indirect way of expression, rather than euphemisms themselves.

I think that in Japanese, rather than using euphemism and things, it's more important to speak indirectly. But euphemism is an indirect term for words, isn't it? Instead of indirect term for a word, I think it's more important [to express in] indirect ways when you speak. Euphemism isn't really important for Japanese. But I think it's more important the way you speak (AF1).

The way you speak mentioned in her comment has been described as one significant ingredient to establish euphemistic expressions. This discussion of directness will be explored in following sections.

8.3.3 Linguistic Variety

As well as implementing politeness strategies such as *keigo* as part of linguistic function, linguistic variety could also serve usefully within a group and, in addition, promote a social boundary. This is indeed a similar effect as the fundamental mechanism of euphemism, which can create a harmonious relationship between interlocutors, and understandably, it may turn into dysphemism which creates further distance. The interview participants revealed two overt factors that can create this linguistic variety; nationally distinctive language characteristics (accent) and regional dialect. In terms of

⁸ Explanation of the *tate/yoko* relationship was made in Section 3.2.2.3.

Australian English from a Japanese perspective, JF3 had an unpleasant experience, since her English was spoken with a northern American accent.

My English teachers were Americans and Canadians. When I came to Australia for the first time, Australian people picked up and repeated what I said in a distinctive northern American accent, such as 'water' and 'tomato', etc. It felt unpleasant (JF3).

Accent and dialect have been particularly separated by some linguists, as 'an accent consists of a way of pronouncing a variety. A dialect, however, varies from other dialects of the same language simultaneously on at least three levels of organization: pronunciation, grammar or syntax, and vocabulary' (Romaine, 1994, p. 18). Within a broader category, however, there is also an identical entity, which is stabilising linguistic variety.

All Australian participants were from regional areas, located far from the two biggest cities in Japan, Osaka and Tokyo, so that significant characteristics could also be identified by Australian participants regarding Japanese dialect.

When females talk to me, I understand basically everything they say. When they speak to each other, ... I understand less. And older women have a lot more 'hoogen' (dialect), speaking stronger 'hoogen' than younger people. But they are slightly more understandable (AM1).

Those participants identified the significant contexts and pictures of one of the euphemistically-categorised linguistic dichotomies such as nationally-differentiated language use and locally formed dialects. Despite its negative sense of using a minor language, non-native speakers' perspectives and attitudes can be applied to those aspects as practical and beneficial communication tools in contact situations.

... I decided that I was gonna make an effort to learn the dialect so I started writing down the examples and listening. ... And I often find myself slipping into the dialect when I shouldn't be. For me using the dialect promotes affinity towards people, so - because I noticed that people around me tend to feel like more I am one of them if I speak the language; their dialect rather than 'hyoojyungo' (standard Japanese). 'Hyoojyungo' is a little bit 'tsumetai' (cold and aloof) as though I'm from outside. Dialect here is more, what I say, promoting close relationships or something (AF1).

Employment of the dialects creates social harmony and group cohesion. Intriguing perceptions of this facet were indicated by AF3, speaking about the distinctive dialect in the prefecture where she resided:

That got me more accepted in my community, because I'm using a common language and I'm making an effort to learn how they speak. But, of course, I'm very stilted in using certain phrases or words (AF3).

As discussed earlier, Clyne (1991, p. 93) addresses this group membership 'gezelligheid [as] (social togetherness)' being indicated by religion, gender, nationality, value systems, age, ethnicity and racial identity, which provides an arbitrary categorisable sense of belonging and close proximity. This type of group discourse is one of the central generators of euphemism, which was distinguished by AF1.

I differentiate between the closer circle and the outer circle [in my Japanese use]. The outer circle people get my best behaviour. Inner people, the closer to me, get what I really think and feel (AF1).

Simultaneously, appreciation of the standard language use might be stressed as being a prominent consideration in some situations. Most people, especially from socially powerful backgrounds, frequently ignore this simple but critical essence.⁹

I never say, 'Please speak in hyoojyungo'. I've never actually said that, because I am not sure if it's polite or not. When I was teaching in Sapporo, they said, 'Please speak in an American accent'. I found 'Oh, I can't speak in an American accent'. So I feel the same way if I ask them to speak in 'hyoojyunngo' and answering [in it], then it would be a bit rude (AM2).

Linguistic diversity and dialects representing groupism are crucially related to the scale of the intimacy between interlocutors.¹⁰ Japanese characteristics deriving from groupism create communication dilemmas in interaction. Within the Japanese social unit, based on the *han* and *mura*, there is a system of exchange referring to one who owes assistance to another and the compensation owed in return among people who mutually understand each other's needs because of their backgrounds. Rather than giving precise information, Japanese people prefer to sense others' requirements. This is a vital element for Japanese people to organise smooth communication. This contradicts the Australian perspective

⁹ See Chapter 3: 3.2.2.1.

¹⁰ See Chapter 3: 3.2.2.3.

which relies on a communication standard that demands precise and informative content about the needs of others. Consequently, harsh reality is experienced by non-native speakers of Japanese.

They don't give me any suggestions. Or the way they wanna do is a kind of old fashioned or too strict, or not communicating with the student, so that's a very difficult situation and also I feel from them immediately that they think I don't understand about Japanese schools. So they immediately don't wanna communicate with me about it (AF5).

In response to the question of whether they were treating her as a foreigner, she admitted without a doubt:

Yep, and also I was a part-time teacher. That was another step away. So it's kind of like, 'You are not really part of this'. But my feeling is 'Even part-time or full-time, I am still responsible for the students' ... For those kinds of situations, I feel frustrated because I didn't feel like I was accepted, and that's in a school! So that was a little bit shocking at first (AF5).

From a slightly different direction, however, being able to share these private issues in a deeper sense is an indicator of recognition as part of the group in contact situations in Japan.

In Japan, at my workplace, I tend not to speak about personal topics. Not very much at all in Japanese, in Japan. If that was an Australian work place, then I would probably - Australians talk about personal things... My Japanese girl friends talk about more personal issues. Broadness and scale of what we are allowed to talk about is much broader in Japan. It's weird. ... In Japan you are not allowed to talk about more things. But then with your really close friends, you can talk about anything in Japan. Doesn't matter how private it gets, Japanese people talk about it, I find. Especially girls (AF2).

AF5, a journalist, also gave a compelling description of groupism and intimacy and had a specific strategy to obtain honest opinions from Japanese interviewees:

In some situations, when I think it's gonna be difficult, I take a Japanese person with me, and do it together. ... Because the interviewees are always more comfortable if there is Japanese person. Not always (AF5).

Even *yakuza* (Japanese mafia) become very open and frank with you, once the barrier between the interlocutors is deconstructed. She continued:

Very personal stuff, too. 'My wife left me' or 'I have these children' or 'My father is in jail / My mother is in jail'. Like stuff that people wouldn't normally say to a stranger, especially a journalist (AF5).

Consequently, if the medium was not Japanese as their first language, they would more easily lose their natural patterns of behaviour in a given context. The significant role of intimacy was addressed by JF5 here:

I don't think the location matters. Depending on the person who you are talking to, that's what matters (JF5).

8.3.4 Topics and Jokes/Humorous Statement

Euphemism can be a trigger to organising smooth communication. However, this useful element can simply turn into a worthless entity, depending on the topic of the conversation. Therefore, extra caution is required for the selection of topics because particular topics may potentially discourage the speakers' involvement. Particular topics that will enhance further conversation are embedded in non-controversial areas, while those discouraging conversation require supplementary information to discuss further high sensitivity, which may cause disruption. The interview data revealed that the topics were the key issues to having successful communication; as the comment by JM1 signalled, topics seem to impact heavily on the successful maintenance of the conversation.

The topics as well as previous information are very important (JM1).

More concrete examples are as follows:

Work. Japanese society (AM3).

I can talk about hobbies (JF4).

The listener's family, what they do for a living, daily life are topics which are easy for me to talk about (JF2).

I am not good at IT related topics (JF1).

Someone's death makes me become extra sensitive (JF5).

You can't say anything about the war [especially to the older age group in Japan] (AF1).

Topics are the key issues to successful communication, and three types of issues were raised in the interviews; (1): personal interests in a favourably explainable area such as current occupations, society and country, hobbies, and personal and domestic information, (2): weaknesses wherein one lacks sufficient information and general knowledge, such as IT centralised issues and (3): those requiring high sensitivity which may cause disruption, such as death, war, and politics. The participants' conceptualisations of and attitudes towards those issues were categorised as topics for further exploitation, namely (1), and topics leading to discouragement of conversation, namely (2) and (3).¹¹

Topics and/or issues relevant to the target society, including cultural diversities, seem to be less of an obstacle for fruitful interaction. AM3 referred to inherent traits in reference to this point:

Once again, because I am white, when you say Japanese society, Japanese people still tend to come up with stuff like really 'koteikannen' (conventionally fixed conception); Japanese is this and Japanese is that. And there are a lot of euphemisms that relate to that. ... I think people are quite happy to tell me about their country. I am happy to talk about my country, too. You can ask them quite quickly about their country. And they'll explain euphemism, anything to do with words (AM3).

In response to the researcher's elaboration that his comments are from his empirical insights, he continued;

Yes. I think it's also because a lot of people, when they meet foreigners, they have a tendency to think that you don't understand Japanese culture. It's easy to ask them because you are white people... they give you an extra bit of latitude, so to speak. That gives you an extra bit of space (AM3).

Hobbies and personal and domestic information were also supplied by JF4 and JF2.

The difference between English and Japanese. Also how I studied English, and something about languages. In addition, I am interested in Korea and learning Korean a bit. So something like that (JF4).

... I am from another country so that if the listener has been overseas or speaks their language other than English, and something international. ... Since I am

¹¹ Refer to some examples described in Section 8.3.3.3.

involved in language, education, and sports..., those topics I know about are easy for me to talk about (JF2).

On the other hand, the following identifies the presence of topics which disrupt communication and/or require extra caution. Someone's death is a common example which was also mentioned in the interviews;

I could write 'Chin up' in a card but no one would have their chin up in such a situation, would we? If I had a friend whose boyfriend passed away, and wrote 'God have mercy on him' to her, she would view me as being chilly (JF5).

JF5's perception is directly relevant to this discussion of taboo issues encountered in a contact situation. From the Australian perspective, on the other hand, one disrupting issue which should not be raised in contact situations with Japanese people is considered to be war. Even when in a receptive mood for further discussion, their insufficient knowledge produces intrinsic contortion between interlocutors.

... [Japanese] people just don't know about it. I find that people's lack of knowledge is frightening, like people even don't know that Australia was bombed by Japan. They went down as far as Sydney Harbour (AF1).

AF1 also lamented that war is not the only issue which Japanese people are not good at discussing intensively, and that they are not well-informed about general politics, either.

I find it difficult to talk to most Japanese about politics just because they don't care, and they don't have general knowledge. I find a lot of Japanese, even though since the end of Edo period Japan has been an open country, in so many ways, [it's] still so insular, so closed. So most people just care about what's going on around them. I find it hard to talk about anything outside of their little world that doesn't directly concern them. Especially when you get on the philosophical level, most Japanese just [say that] 'I haven't talked about it or I haven't thought about it' (AF1).

The above comments by AF1 are penetrating views of the Japanese insight from non-native speakers' perspectives. This mirrors Japanese superficial attitudes, and suggests that they can hardly discuss a particular topic at a deep level. AF1 also pointed out her frustration during conversation with the majority of Japanese she encountered:

It's really a sort of normal, nothing level. Then on the other hand if I said something like, 'How do you feel about Shintoism versus Buddhism?'..., they wouldn't really.... It's not that light-hearted conversation any more (AF1).

These conceptualisations of and attitudes towards such issues suggest that topics to create further exploitation of the conversation and topics leading to discouragement of conversation should be carefully and intentionally selected.

The interviews also identified that one of the effective euphemistic strategies is the use of humorous statements and/or jokes. However, many expressed puzzlement regarding the production and or acceptance of humour and jokes in English and Japanese when either language is used as their second/foreign language.

Before I came to Australia, I imagined that jokes were understood as long as I could clearly listen to the speaker. After acquiring the capacity to understand a speaker, still there are many jokes I do not laugh at. ... So probably this derives from the cultural differences. As I am from Kansai region, Kansai jokes deeply reflect my whole life. That's why I am not able to get along with jokes based in English... (JM2).

JM1 also explained that he was not good at generating humorous statements, and implied that jokes with *hineri* (social satire, in this case) create the gap between Australian and Japanese humours. People are extensively aware of the fact that humour/jokes in Australian and Japanese contexts are endorsed by their different natures and applications of the style.

I cannot make jokes either in English or Japanese. Since I have grown up with humour mainly relating to wordplays in Japanese, I cannot produce any jokes with 'hineri' (JM1).

AM1 described characteristics of Japanese jokes which contain physical performance:

I don't think it's [Japanese joke] funny. ... I understand Japanese comedy, Manzai (stand-up comedy in a pair) or stuff. But it's still not funny. And it's all to do with, I guess, puns. But puns very quickly tire. So it's a lot of physical comedy. I find Japanese humour is physical (AM1).

In regard to employment of jokes and humorous statements in the target language, it is conventionally recognised that non-native speakers of the target language frequently encounter problems with euphemistically expanded phraseology.

Sometimes I don't know how to react in some situations. Again it's all about levels of politeness. Because I don't understand their intention all the time in Japanese, I understand the meaning of what someone says, but I don't know

what they mean by that. ... I am sure that there are ways of saying something and undercutting it, like by the way you are saying it. But I just don't get it. Like, by saying one thing means another thing, and you indicate that by language. You're saying more than the words actually mean (AM1).

After the researcher assured the interviewee that what he wanted to express was connotative meaning, he replied:

Yes, connotation. I don't get it at all, all the time (AM1).

The confusion between Japanese and English speakers in their receptiveness to and understanding of jokes is also due to collectivism. Collectivism, which historically derives from *mura* and *han*, has been ascribed to the ideology that 'The Japanese are exceptionally sensitive to criticism and rebuffs, and have an open conspiracy to ensure that others, as well as themselves, are protected and shielded from psychological injury' (March, 1996, p. 30).¹² That is the crucial reason why the Japanese sense of humour and jokes distinctively omit '... critical, sarcastic, or ironic comments about things Japanese' (March, 1996, p. 131) and depend heavily on *jesting*, *puns* and *play on words* (*dajare* and *kakekotoba*). It is intuitively obvious that those fundamental concepts of Japanese humour are rooted in *rakugo*, professional verbal entertainment based on a comic story performed by a lone story-teller, which was developed in the Edo period (1603-1867) (Araiso & Moore, 1989). In contrast, their English speaking counterparts (especially Australians) revel in sarcasm such as '... ridicule and abuse, satire, irony, obscenity and blasphemy' (Wells, 1997, p. 9), which can all be traced back to ancient Roman and Greek humour.

Freud made the following point that '... a shared sense of humour argued a deep psychological similarity, and the reverse also seems to be true' (as cited in Wells, 1997, p. 1). This indicates that transferring humorous statements in the original language to the target language will inevitably fail. Nevertheless, everyone favours humour and attaches curiosity to it, in both target and original languages. Acquisition of the concepts and formulated patterns of humour in the target language is a vital second/foreign teaching approach when dealing with euphemism, and will enhance enthusiasm towards and

¹² Regarding *mura* and *han*, see Chapter 3: 3.2.2.2.

produce great interest in target language lessons. Undoubtedly, one does not have to change his/her own sense of the humorous concept, yet ability to understand and use humour in culturally appropriate ways is the benchmark of great communication (Condon, Jr., 1966). So patterns of humour and jokes in contact situations, which are mostly linked to stereotypical and conventional concepts embedded in the original linguistic and cultural behaviour, will help to produce effective communication in the target language.

This can be interpreted that to misunderstand the nature of jokes derives from a qualitative rather than a quantitative origin. According to AM3, puns or wordplays in Japanese are recognised easily by the Australians living in Japan, compared with their Australian jokes, which are based mainly on sarcasm. AM3's concept is also endorsed by AF3:

In my office, they are always joking. It's very difficult to understand the sense of humour. But if I'm trying to make jokes in Japanese or jokes in general, ... they do seem to understand the meaning, even if they just understand that it's a joke, even if they don't understand the whole meaning (AF3).

Most of the jokes I do understand are more playing on words. Japanese words have two meanings or something. Simple jokes (AF3).

Moreover, participants' comments displayed that most people using their target language in the target country understand the general characteristics of the jokes in the target language. Several examples are:

It's basically many Japanese words sound the same so they'll switch them around. ... Word play is probably the most common that I encounter (AM2).

In Australia, I think we use sarcasm a lot. My humour is very black, too. I would have a problem here if I used a joke in the same way - because you know in Australia, when you are close to somebody and might say something like 'Oh, stupid' or whatever, but if you say 'baka' (stupid) or whatever in Japanese, it's rude. It's a different meaning and different connotation. So I don't think we can use the same language in terms of humour. ... Japanese humour is more like dajyare (simple word-play), or what else, or something like words resembling each other... (AF1).

[Japanese people] *don't understand sarcasm. I don't do that very much any more but I use sarcasm or irony quite a lot in English and tried to do that in Japanese but people are just like, 'OK, fine' (AM1).*

Japanese people like 'kakekotoba' (pun, play on words, and/or double entendre). ... I think the style of humour is different. First is of course 'kakekotoba' jokes. I don't have enough words so they are difficult for me to understand. But even if I did understand, they are not interesting. ... I find Australian humour is a lot more interesting. [In Japanese comedy,] there's no story to it. ... Australian comedians tend to put real life issues into funny contexts. ... I find that interesting, and I find that an intelligent comedy, whereas a lot of Japanese comedies I find are not intelligent comedy, just like little tiny words. ... I don't find it funny at all (AF2).

However, in reality, jokes and humorous statements are not always comprehended or positively accepted by hearers who are native speakers of the target language. As a result, the conversation continues, without them understanding the jokes or humorous content of the statement clearly. In the case of the reaction when they could hardly understand the conversation, most interviewees answered that they had no strategies for that. Below are distinctive cases explained by two Japanese participants:

There are many occasions where I pretend that I understand [what the other says], so as not to disturb the flow of the conversation (JF4).

I sometimes feel guilty if I disrupt the natural flow of the conversation (JM5).

As an effective approach, a clear indication such as *This is a joke...* or *Let me tell you something funny* prior to the core statement, enhances the speaker's attempt to respond. This will also bring about the speaker's non-total-failure, even in cases where the statement is not comical or positively accepted by the listener (Kobayashi, 1996, also cited in Hasegawa, 2004). So knowledge of the implications of logically formulated strategic manners and euphemisms to overcome these difficulties should be promoted.

8.3.5 Ambiguity and Preciseness

Euphemisms can possibly convert the degree of preciseness and the semantics of the original word and phrases to become ambiguous, a point which was also frequently mentioned by the interview participants. Linguistic preciseness of expression relies

heavily on the linguistic character. Nevertheless, explicit illustrations of euphemistically motivated indiscretion also occur constantly within a mono cultural context. The dichotomised sense of *equality* between authority and locals was previously discussed.¹³ However, euphemistically-motivated linguistic nuances differ more distinctively in intercultural communication. This is because most dilemmas of nuance are caused by 'presupposition' (Goddard, 1998, p. 52), which works with individually formed logical conceptualisation in the process of deciphering messages.

'How do you describe your art?', 'How do you describe your music?' or 'How do you describe your life?' or the like. It doesn't work in Japanese to say that. Instead, I just ask a question, like 'What's your impression of...?' or 'Setsumeishite kudasai' (please explain). But 'setsumei' (explanation) is different. For me, it's kind of different to describe. I get a little bit different feeling answer. That's one really frustrating point (AF5).

AF5's comment overtly described frustration coming from linguistic ambiguity and preciseness encountered by non-native speakers of the target language. This is apt to be considered as due to Japanese ambiguity. However, identical frustration can also be revealed in an English medium communication. From the perspective of Japanese living in Australia, a conspicuous example is apologising behaviour.

In ordinary daily life, ... Australians often say 'sorry' in a very simple manner. But when they make a serious mistake, they do not apologise. For example, I opened my current bank account and my bankcard was sent to some other address the other day, so I went to the bank to complain about that. In the customer service where I used to work in Japan, an apology should be sent first of all which can calm the customer's nerves down, prior to the core discussion. In Australia [that is not so, because], I sensed that she agreed that the bank was totally responsible for that mistake, but her attitude could be interpreted as: 'I was not the one who caused it, so why should I get involved?' (JM1).

The above type of psychological agony should be known and acknowledged in relation to ambiguity and preciseness embedded in the unique linguistic formulation. The scale and degree of the linguistic preciseness differ in each language and this fact contributes to the production of euphemism, which causes frequent communication breakdown. This sentiment was also expressed by many participants in the interviews. To begin with, intriguing and distinctive examples identified by three participants will be introduced.

¹³ An example of the dichotomised sense of *equality* in Japanese was discussed in Chapter 3: 3.2.2.2.

These participants revealed that exactly the same thing frustrates them when encountering an interaction in English.

I sometimes feel that many people [in Australia] lack responsibility. For example, bus drivers and bank clerks show attitudes, like 'I am not causing this problem'. ... They rarely say 'sorry' (JF1).

No one can tell who is responsible when a problem arises. So I do not even know who I should preach to or accuse, and time just proceeds and no satisfactory solution can be found in many cases (JM2).

The other day... I was forced to be inside the lift in ... Hotel for one hour at 12am. ... Receptionists at the hotel did not apologise to me at all. When I grumbled at the one in charge of the lift, he said that it was not his fault (JM1).

If Japanese is such an incomprehensible and vague language, Japanese people are consequently supposed to be used to and accepting of expressions that are vaguely masquerading, so that the comments below would rarely be disclosed.

I am very honest and as an Australia, we tend to speak what we think and feel, but sometimes it's not appropriate to be so direct in Japan (AF1).

In Japanese you don't necessarily have to say pronouns, because the meaning is in the sentence (AM3).

I had to learn that, like, for example, 'Are you gonna come tomorrow?'. Somebody answers, 'tabun' (probably).... Is that 'yes'? And gradually I started to know how much is yes and how much is no. People are avoiding 'Yes I will' or 'No I won't'. That took some time to learn. Also sometimes it's just a feeling you get. It's not something that you can put into words (AF5).

In Japan, people don't say things as directly. They'll say in more subtle way to get the message across, even though suddenly there is a strong message implied. In English if there were a strong message, I would say it directly. A little thing like that at first is quite difficult. Just a different way of thinking is the biggest obstacle, I think (AM2).

You can make it very ambiguous in Japanese. Language itself is very ambiguous. But I think the structure doesn't matter so much. Because the structure of the language is the same as Korean I found out, I think Korean people tend to say things very directly compared to Japanese people. I think it's not just the language. I think it would be, may be, part of the culture as well (AM2).

These comments demonstrated that entirely significant differences in expectations might occur when comparing Japanese subjects with their Australian counterparts on a large scale. Below is another conflict based on linguistic habit that can create barriers in contact situations.

Appointments or promises are easily forgotten. [For example,] after saying 'I will come up tomorrow!', he/she never comes up on the day. 'I'll give you a call' and the phone never rings. I now interpret those overt expressions as no possibility for those events to happen. ... I am used to it now but felt so frustrated when I first came to Australia (JM2).

When I was having a language exchange, my partner said, 'I'll call you. I'll call you', and she never called. ... so I called her a few times [and still she did not make it]. So I said to her [on another phone call] ... 'If you cannot make a promise, do not say that!' ... I believe that this is not due to the cultural barrier..., because I noticed that there are Australian people keeping their promises properly.... Not all are like that but many Australians tend to behave as though they don't care about the appointment (JF3).

If the above two contexts regarding the phrase *I'll call you* validate part of norm in English in Australia, the following situation should naturally be accepted by Australians speaking Japanese as well.

The most frustrating thing I remember particularly is when I was an exchange student. They first came out and when I would ask something, they'd say, 'Yes, yes, yes. That would be good. That's fine'. And I thought everybody was fine and OK. Then I'd find out later that they really meant 'no'. And I couldn't do that if I was in trouble doing something. They never give direct answers. We give excuses in English. For example if someone is late, you give an excuse why. But I think in Japanese they don't tend to give an explanation as much, just to be polite and not make you uncomfortable. There isn't the same strategy (AF3).

In fact, AF3's comment mentions that *OK* does not necessarily mean *fine* in Japanese and *I'll call you* does not contain the same expectation in the Australian context as it does in Japan.

Regarding difficulties in ambiguity and preciseness of the target language, non-native speakers' subconscious accommodation to their target language habits in the given contact situations have also been validated. The comments below illustrate this assumption:

I try to be more indirect. I try to ... use Japanese more like Japanese used by Japanese. But of course being an Australian, it doesn't matter how hard I try, because Australians speak their feelings a lot. Japanese don't tend to speak their feeling. It's because of where you grow up... (AF1).

One thing about doing interviews in Japan is that I can't be as direct or as pushy as I might be in English. Depending on the person, sometimes, it's OK. But generally speaking, I try to keep a polite level and make them feel comfortable. So I can try and get the information, but a lot of the time, I can't get specific answers, so I spend a lot of time going around. ... Of all the people I interviewed only one person has been really honest and direct and answered my question, kind of debated with me, I find that I can't generate a debate. It's more like I ask a question and I wait for the answer. I hesitate to ask another question that might make them feel uncomfortable because often they don't give me an answer. So I feel like I can't do so much in debate that I might do in English. Like for example, if somebody makes a statement, then I really would say 'What do you think about that?', and give them examples of the opposite situation. I would be very quick to do that. But in Japanese situations, I take it much more slowly. ... Generally speaking I hesitate to push too much. ... Lots of times, people are a little bit cautious, and also they don't wanna say anything that's too opinionated. I find it hard to get a true opinion. They don't wanna be seen as knowing too much, or saying I am better than other people, so ... I am still learning how to get that (AF5).

In the process of cultivating these accommodating behaviours, it is naturally inevitable to encounter some dilemmas and acquired habits. This may be due to overextension of their first language. Semantic politeness was previously discussed and participants' accounts regarding euphemistic tendency and target language use to indicate this assumption will be explored here.¹⁴

'Maybe...', 'I think so' or 'I am not sure but...'. I think I use them very often in English (JF4).

... Lots of 'Doo omoimasuka' (what do you think?). And lots of times, the answer would be 'Soo desunee' (Well / I see).... Hesitation and not immediate response. In English, bounce, bounce.... in Japanese wait and wait, so it's a little bit different (AF5).

Unlike the frequently omitted subject in sentence in Japanese, the appearance of the subject in English gives me strong impressions in English, when hearing someone's argument (JF1).

¹⁴ Semantic politeness was demonstrated in Section 8.3.2.

Those accommodating strategies cannot only be observed from non-native speakers' perspectives but also from native-speakers' perspectives. In discussing whether they could possibly recognise when native English speakers employed these strategies when interacting orally, they answered affirmatively:

I think they [native speakers of English] try to talk to me in an easy way for me to understand..., including vocabulary and locutions etc... (JF2).

I think it slightly changes. They speak more repetitively. If I don't respond immediately, they often paraphrase (JM4).

When in a teaching practicum... conversation between colleagues can be understood, say 40%..., but when they talk to me, I can understand around 90%. This means that they change their communication style when talking to me (JM5).

Some people kindly ensure what I want to express, like 'You want to say this and that, is that right?' (JM1).

Because of my English [produced by a non-native speaker], ones [I know] are trying to listen to what I say. ... They wait. Their speaking does not change [not speed up or slow down], but they provide me with time to speak. ... Sometimes strangers do the same thing such as ones in a post office, etc (JF5).

Most of the time, no. But sometimes, yes, and I really noticed it. They speak to me in baby-Japanese or they really lower their vocabulary level, because they think I wouldn't understand. Or they use a lot of Katakana words, so they think that would help me understand, and I really notice it (AF5).

There are cases when the native speakers of the target language do not have to shift their normal use of the first language but they still subconsciously do so. The non-native speaker sends a clear signal that he/she can understand the language, but the native speaker ignores this signal. This is also a typical euphemistic behaviour.

... I try demonstrating by my answer that I can understand but sometimes... they don't really listen to how I answer it (AF5).

One of the behaviours of English speakers described previously from a Japanese perspective was that native speakers of English appeared not to listen to non-native speakers. This seems to apply to native speakers of Japanese in contact situations as well.

8.3.6 Concluding Utterances

Competence in conversation commencement, procedure, and maintenance does not necessarily cause a successful communication. It is also essential to utilise some communicative behaviours and implement them in order to result in a smooth conversation ending. This demands strategically delivered euphemisms, due to the fact that there is a social protocol in any society. The influence of euphemism was evident in the interview participants' statements and, as was expected, particularly at the stage of ending communication. Take, for example, the semantic transference in a farewell situation when a non-native speaker of the target language at a social gathering proceeds, in the target language, to express the wish to leave the venue. It is assumed to be appropriate for one to show appreciation to the host and/or inviter, with circumlocutions such as *thank you* prior to indicating the wish to depart, along with *good bye* to the host and/or inviter. Possible euphemistic locutions in this setting, in addition to a simple *good bye* would be compliments, such as *Thank you very much for having me tonight*, *It was a great party*, or *It was nice meeting/talking to you*, and the like (Hasegawa, 2004).

Naturally, the prime focus is not only euphemisms as lexical items but also correct timing and appropriate behaviour accompanying these utterances in the presence of the person. One Japanese participant explained that he is especially careful about choosing the right time to act:

I will wait for someone to take a break, to leave first..., but if I really have to leave a group, I would say to the one who is the closest to me, 'Sorry, I have to leave', 'I have to go to a toilet' or some general statement before saying 'I really have to go' or 'See you later'... (JF3).

Australian contexts also include a sense of obligation felt by Australian people, while this factor can clearly vary the presence of the social collectivism within Japanese interlocutors. Below is shown the complication of withdrawing oneself from others in the interaction.

In Australia if you go to the toilet and meet someone on the way back [to your seat/table], you can begin your conversation with the person.... But in Japan, I personally feel some obligation that you have to go back to the group you were with before leaving for the toilet (JF3).

'I'll go and get something to drink', etc, and then leave. In Japanese, it might be difficult to do so.... Japanese is my first language, so it seems to be easy to deal with these situations in Japanese, but it is not necessarily so [in English speaking context] (JF1).

Rather than the distinctive linguistic signals such as *I'd better get going* or *I need to excuse myself*, to indicate withdrawal from the interaction, it might be wise to capture the other's attention by some discourse markers, employing hedges and/or interjections such as *well*, *anyway*, or *sorry to interrupt you*. Implementation of the timing and strategies formulae leads to the smooth interception of others' attention which provides the opportunity to express the phrases for ending the interaction and leaving the event and venue of the gathering itself (Hasegawa, 2004). Non-native speakers of the target language frequently have their own unique strategies to avoid incorrect semantic transference, which may potentially ignite a communication breakdown. In a social gathering or meeting, for example, deliberate inquiry about time, or going to the toilet, seemed to be the common actions. Individual participants had also developed unique strategies to put the final touches to the successful conclusion of the interaction.

Prior to the commencement of a party or meeting, I usually talk to the host/hostess and explain about my situation of needing to go home in the middle. So making an apology twice can help to explain the appropriate causes; even the second time does not allow enough time to let them understand my situation. ... While in Japan, I was also behaving like this (JM1).

From the Australian participants' perspective, those clarifications and tactics can be applied extensively with characteristic ambiguity in Japanese, when one desires to refuse some invitation and end the conversation as well.¹⁵

I think it's quite easy in Japanese to get out of things. Like someone invites you somewhere, asks you to do something, you never really have to say 'No', because [you can say instead] 'I have to do such and such'. You can always kind of give an excuse (AF4).

¹⁵ Characteristic ambiguity in Japanese was explored in Chapter 3: 3.4.3.

[If] *the truth is I don't wanna go, I can just say, 'I am so tired' or 'I've got something to do'. Now in English, sometimes, if my friends want to do something or ask me for something that I don't want to, I think [I would say] in English, 'I'm tired' and they say, 'So?' [or] 'Have a rest and let's go!'* (AF4).

For instance, I tend to leave sentences hanging in Japanese. For instance, in English, I can say to someone, 'Oh I really need this done by tomorrow.' And you've got the whole sentence. ... Or someone says, 'Can you do this?', and I say, 'Oh, really I can't do this'. In Japanese I could say, 'Chotto' (a bit...) or 'Muzukashii' (difficult). You don't have to say a whole sentence. ... You don't have to say the whole sentence, necessarily in Japanese. Nor do you necessarily in English either but just a simple example (AM3).

8.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has portrayed the researcher's interpretations of the participants' insights into euphemistic engagement in various contexts and the subconsciously-developed strategies they use to overcome difficulties. In this study, participants' unique and notable insights into euphemistic engagement have been discovered in two main themes, which also consist of nine sub-themes. In the first main theme, Political Correctness and Censorship, there are three differentiated sub themes such as 1: Typographical Paradox, 2: Sexism, and 3: Expletives and Curses, and Racist and Ethical Prejudices. The second main theme, Linguistic and Interactive Functions includes six sub themes such as 1: Initiative Utterances, 2: Politeness, 3: Linguistic Variety, 4: Topics and Jokes / Humour, 5: Ambiguity and Preciseness, and 6: Concluding Utterances.

Discoveries of the study have lead ultimately to the fulfilment of some aspects of RO2 and RO3, as well as the primary section of RO4. Several distinctive factors contributing to connotative and denotative uniqueness when creating euphemism have been discussed, reflecting the cultural diversity of Japan and Australia and their societies. Although not wishing to fall into the temptation of euphemism creation, people may subconsciously do so and engage in euphemistic rhetoric. It is inevitable for one to avoid and escape from such environments since it is not uncommon for intentional euphemism creators to deliver the message in a pervasive way and misleading manner. However, previous acknowledgement and cultivation of those difficulties, which lead to the development of coping strategies will enable second/foreign language learners to engage

in successful communication in contact situations. In the next chapter the implications of these mechanisms will be summarised with reference to the issues discussed previously.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION OF EUPHEMISM AND SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The structure of this chapter will reflect aspects of the nature of euphemism discussed up to this stage. It will be divided into sections as follows: reflection on the literature review and the achievements and limitations of the quantitative and qualitative studies, applications and implications of euphemism for future second/foreign language lessons, and suggestions for future research and conclusions.

As discussed in Chapter 1: 1.3, conventional framework for academic work has been designed in two ways. One is the philosophically orientated approach. Jordan (2004) expresses that this is the framework used in second/foreign language acquisition evident in such theories as Noam Chomsky's Universal Grammar, Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional perspectives and Lyle Bachman's components of Communicative Language Ability. These are all based on the linguistic mechanism focused on the anatomy of human communication and are adequate enough to be adopted by the second/foreign language teaching/learning environment. The other type of conventional framework is the empirical attempt to validate perpetuated hypotheses and newly enhanced ideological stances. In this case, pragmatic reality should also be deeply scrutinised for the fact that language is created by individually motivated unique concepts and employed within various environments which require the application of people's accounts. These two frameworks are contradictory but both applicable to second/foreign language education. Thus their combined framework employed for this study enhanced effective investigation of ROs and successfully produced distinctive outcomes, which have lead to valuable information for language teaching practice.

In relation to the central focus of the research, Section 9.2.1 of this chapter will explore and summarise concepts about euphemism, described in detail in Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5,

that have emerged from earlier research and current practices. Section 9.2.2 will relate to the quantitative and qualitative research outcomes and analyses described in Chapters 7 and 8. Section 9.3 will reconsider the scope of the study described in Chapter 1: 1.5. Significant outcomes of the study are discussed further, followed by a discussion of the implications of euphemism in English and Japanese for second/foreign language education in Section 9.4. This section will include practical knowledge about euphemism that has emerged from this study, which can be used in the second/foreign language teaching context. Finally, the chapter will include some suggestions and recommendations for future research on the use of euphemism.

9.2 REFLECTIONS: RESULTS/ACHIEVEMENTS

This thesis concentrates on practical knowledge about euphemism which can be used in the second/foreign language teaching context, and the significant issues that were reported in each major section of this thesis will be revisited in this section. The thesis content has been divided into two major parts. Part I: Critical Examination of the Euphemistic Issues and Concepts Related to the Sphere of Sociolinguistics and Psycholinguistics and Part II: Discovery, Description and Exploration of Empirical Studies on Euphemism.

To explain further, Part I, which was comprised of Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5, demonstrated the theoretical significance of euphemism through a collection of critical accounts and interpretations of this phenomenon. It provided a conceptually and theoretically orientated perspective on euphemism. Part II, which was an empirically and pragmatically orientated discussion, included Chapters 6, 7, and 8 showed the results of the data analysis and interpretation, shedding light upon the conventional nature and individual discovery of euphemism.

9.2.1 Literature Achievements

The first part of this section reflects on Part I of this thesis, and the second part reflects on Part II. Part I, beginning with Chapter 2, highlighted the definitions, functions, and

motivations of euphemism, expressed as three entities: euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak. Drawing a clear distinction between these can be difficult due to variations in the purposes, intentions and perceptions of the interlocutor. Therefore distinguishing between them relies heavily on decisions about how to consider the contexts in which they are embedded. Characteristically, euphemism is used for avoiding displeasing and offensive expressions, while dysphemism describes the lexical terms and expressions used to function in a non-polite way. Doublespeak is more similar to dysphemism than to euphemism. Nevertheless, doublespeak includes the deliberate motivation to deceive others by the expressions employed. Chapter 2 also demonstrated the types of euphemistic language in use and their stylistic and structural classifications.

Chapter 3 of this thesis particularly raised awareness of the significance of euphemism, which has been habitually employed in a broad range of circumstances in society. As euphemism is used as an important aspect of communication in social relationships, the systematic sociological factors motivating euphemisms and the way these are established were scrutinised. The investigation targeted the sphere of linguistic restriction and limitation, in relation to political correctness (PC) and censorship.

A psychological argument was then followed. Chapter 4 explored the two mainstream theories of euphemism. The first of these theories views euphemism as psychologically motivated, including predispositions of human conceptualisation, universal concepts of forming comprehension mechanisms, multithink and doublethink, and cognitive dissonance. The second theory is concerned with the factors of connotative and denotative uniqueness, in which the discussion focuses on cultural aspects and diversity between Japan and English speaking countries, introducing code decipherment, cognitive map and high/low context theory.

Chapter 5 discussed the mechanisms of euphemistic rhetoric. It illustrated various issues and social incidents which are currently under discussion in the literature. This reinforced the impossibility of developing the euphemism argument within the scope of some particular issues and genres. The exploitation of semantic rhetoric is motivated by the sociological and psychological nature of language, and these aspects of language in

general and euphemism in particular are interwoven with visual rhetoric to ameliorate objects. In addition, this chapter particularly shows that the lexical term *euphemism* usually connotes a noun phrase, that is name and label, yet a number of euphemisms serve as modifiers which provide more information, such as both pre- and post-modification.

Part I of the thesis has successfully addressed Research Object (RO) 1: To identify the functions of euphemistic expressions in terms of communication. This research object entailed an intensive, time-consuming investigation of the broad field which is a significant part of euphemism.

9.2.2 Study Achievements

This section focuses upon Part II, which began with Chapter 6. Chapter 6 explained the coordination and organisational procedures of the two contrasting research methods: quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interview) methods utilised for this research. It contained the essential focus of the research, the methods and tools, the selection of certain euphemistic terms and expressions, a description of the participants, study period, data collection and analysis, ethics considerations, research significance and limitations, and the pilot study.

Chapter 7 showed the qualitative data outcomes, analysis and interpretation. Since euphemisms are present in all social contexts and across broad fields, it seemed to be plausible to structure this chapter by referring to the previously defined nature of euphemism and to the topics used in the questionnaire. The organization and interpretation of the data analysis were also explored in this chapter. Consequently, it addressed RO2: To investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target languages (English and Japanese) encounter positive and negative aspects of euphemism and RO3: To examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisations of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts.

Chapter 8 discussed the thematic analysis of the qualitative data. Two main themes emerged: (1) political correctness and censorship attaching the sub themes, such as: typographical paradox, sexism and swearing and (2) linguistic and interactive functions, including initiative utterances, politeness, linguistic variety, topics and jokes/humour, ambiguity and preciseness, and concluding utterances. Interview participants revealed their thoughts in detail, especially in regard to euphemisms and euphemistic expressions, and the researcher's analysis and interpretations also formed part of this data.

Typographical paradoxes are reflected by the ethics and value judgements of authorities in the target country and culture, as explained in Chapter 8: 8.2.1. This can be clearly monitored by the participants' accounts of the confusing effects of instructions and requests on themselves as foreigners who find it difficult to distinguish the commonly accepted central values of native speakers, or their sensitivities about certain topics or situations in the target language in the target country.

Sexist language use (Chapter 8: 8.2.2) can contribute to the determination of language use. In cases where there is an exclusion of lexical items and expressions discriminating against a particular subject, there are conflicts between the need to protect or to promote some phrases. The conventionally determined and understood social hierarchy is almost always unwritten and concealed, so it remains an esoteric task to acknowledge the reality of language use in a particular situation from the perspective of the non-native speaker. Most participants still found difficulty with appropriate language use, even though they could use the target language at an extremely high level.

Linguistic differences can also affect personal language use and produce euphemism. For example, in some linguistic contexts swearing is insulting but in others it means nothing, or even implies a sign of harmony (Chapter 8: 8.2.3).

In Japan, I think it's more how you say it rather than the actual word itself (AM2).¹

¹ This statement was demonstrated in Chapter 8: 8.2.3.

This idea relates directly to participants' subconscious verbal behaviours and habitual social practices. A distinctive example from the Australian perspective is as follows: Australian participants experienced confusion when Japanese people replied to them in limited English, even when those Australian participants spoke in Japanese and signalled their potential Japanese ability to them. This might be from the conventional Japanese' view about foreigners who do not speak Japanese language at all. Another example is the Japanese people's use of comments about Australian participants' physical figures as an ice-breaker. This might be a habitual Japanese greeting practice which does not intend to offend Australians, but is sometimes considered strange or even offensive by the Australians. For Japanese counterparts, on the other hand, an ice-breaking phrase uttered by Australian people such as: 'What did you do yesterday?' might be too inquisitive. Another contextual difference is in the intentions and interpretations of some promises such as: 'I'll call you tomorrow'.²

These examples portrayed clearly the fact that normal practices in one culture and society may potentially be considered as eccentric or bad manners in another, leading to miscommunication. Consequently, an awareness of the different nature of social attitudes across cultures is important. The expectations of the interlocutors in human relationships are decisive factors in the construction of euphemism. It is clear that the contextual situation in the target country (Chapter 8: 8.3.2) also strongly influences the way language is used and whether it is considered to be polite. The response made by AF2 reflected this phenomenon:

Sometimes I consciously don't use ultra keigo, so that they realise that I am not Japanese. The reason [for not using keigo and her role to be employed by the program] is to internationalise Japan, not for us to be Japanised (AF2).³

Such politeness in linguistic use indicated the indistinct borderline between formality and politeness, which are sometimes integrated and overlapping. Japanese *keigo* may easily obstruct communication in the Japanese medium, even though it is demanded in formal situations. However, the interview participants' comments indicated that

² See Chapter 8: 8.3.1 and 8.3.5.

³ This statement can be viewed in Chapter 8: 8.3.2.

avoiding impoliteness should be a priority in almost all situations, so that using *desu/masu* ending and copying others' phrases are appropriate strategies in order to be non-offensive. In other words, incorrect use and overuse of *keigo* by non-native speakers of Japanese can potentially be impolite, which may lead to Japanese people forming negative impressions that the speakers have informal manners and attitudes. This is a vital aspect of accommodation competency, instinctively produced by Australian participants who spent considerable time in situations requiring polite and formal attitudes in Japan.

Chapter 8: Sections 8.3.3, 8.3.4, and 8.3.5 discussed linguistic variety and cultivated sense which is utilised extensively in the target language. Such accommodative competency was particularly noted by several Australian participants living in rural areas in Japan, where distinctive dialects exist. Understanding the dialect is necessary for minimum communication, and using some vernacular locutions can help to create an affiliation within a group. This is illustrated in the telling of jokes, which demonstrate a clear knowledge of the characteristic elements and ambiguous statements which are treated as being socially considerable and accepted.

Another important element of smooth communication was found to be the raising of appropriate topics. It is likely that this issue is as relevant for native speakers as it is in the target language. Even native speakers of a language may become perplexed when encountering unfamiliar topics, however they may still be able to handle the situation by using flexible communicative knowledge and pre-acquired information. This kind of flexibility is extremely restricted for non-native speakers of the target language. So it becomes necessary to extract the information which may lead them to the further discussion. Selection of the topic itself is a small but significant step towards euphemistically motivated communication.

As well as addressing RO2 and RO3, Chapter 8 contributed strongly to RO4: To investigate how euphemistic expressions are handled by Japanese people learning English as a second/foreign language and Australians learning Japanese as a

second/foreign language, when faced with sociolinguistic difficulties. Questions addressing RO4 were asked both from native speakers' and non-native speakers' perspectives, since it is the interaction of these perspectives that contributes to insights about the use of euphemism.

The outcomes of the quantitatively and qualitatively oriented research have identified a number of factors strongly affiliated with euphemism production, which is contributed some insights regarding the application of and future implications for second/foreign language teaching methods.⁴

9.3 REFLECTIONS: SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

Despite careful planning of the research design, there were some inevitable problems that restricted the original design and necessitated some minor alteration. While these limitations need to be acknowledged, it is generally accepted that some difficulties are inevitable and therefore acceptable within educational research frameworks (Charles, 1998).

This section describes the limitations to the study, the strategies that were put in place to address them and the extent to which they may have affected the project outcomes.

9.3.1 Literature Limitations

As discussed earlier in this thesis, it was almost impossible to identify clear differences between each of the important categories, euphemism, dysphemism, and doublespeak. In addition, euphemism is used in conversations about a multiplicity of themes, topics and domains, and this caused difficulties in choosing a focus for analysing euphemisms in this study. As described in Chapter 2, critical discourse analysis from a purely linguistic perspective has been attempted, due to the belief that a great deal of the discussion about significant characteristics of euphemism can be identified more systematically from a

⁴ These will be explained in Section 9.4.

linguistic perspective than from individual paradigms where euphemisms can be identified.

However, the literary references do not give sufficient discussion about certain points of view about euphemism. Thus, drawing on the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, a more in-depth consideration of socioculturally motivated discussion was presented in Chapter 3. This discussion took into account Gibson's (1974) claim that euphemisms are prominent in areas such as sex and decency, commerce, government and war but are also found in a number of other fields, such as: medical, academic, legal, and religious topics, and Lehman's (1999) linking of euphemism with political correctness (PC).

To address further the limitations of the literature extant, and as a consequence of the discussion in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 discussed the way euphemism is motivated by psychological factors, to explain the euphemistic functions related to PC and censorship issues. How euphemism can be used to mislead and deceive others was explored under the lexical term *doublespeak* in Chapter 5.

9.3.2 Study Limitations

The general term *limitations of the study* can be precisely categorised into two aspects: *limitations and delimitations*. Charles (1998, p. 70) specified their distinction as follows:

Limitations refer to conditions outside the investigator's control that affect data collection. ... Delimitations are the boundaries purposely put on the study, usually to narrow it for researchability.

The main scope of this study was indicated clearly in Chapter 1: 1.5 and was considered separately for each stage as the research progressed. This section, therefore, extracts and prioritises the limitations and delimitations as defined above.

In regard to the quantitative research method (questionnaires), the first limitation was the observation of certain contexts only. It has been demonstrated that euphemism is embedded in broad linguistic categories such as speech styles, registers, speech situations, speech events, and speech acts. Consequently, a range of different contexts

should be considered when analysing communicative language, however it does not seem possible to do so. To attempt to introduce as wide a range of contexts as possible within the time constraints of the questionnaire, the questionnaire was composed of five components: (1) euphemism in politeness and impoliteness, (2) the role of euphemism in our daily life, (3) euphemism and PC in discrimination, primarily in terms of gender, race, age and disability, (4) conceptualisation of euphemism and attitudes towards it, and (5) lexical perception of euphemism.

Another limitation to be pointed out regarding the questionnaire is the selection of the lexical items. Equivalent vocabulary and expressions in one language do not necessarily exist in another, due to the uniqueness of each language. Many euphemistic terms create this dilemma as well, so there was some difficulty with identifying equivalent lexical terms that could be compared between the questionnaires written in Japanese for Japanese participants and those written in English for Australian participants.

Questionnaires were administered by mail rather than the alternative of e-mail, because of potential difficulties associated with the latter, such as difficulties with showing the university letter-head on participants' computers and the fact that Japanese text is only readable if the computer hardware and software are compatible with those of the sender.⁵

It is understandable that the greater the number of participants, the more precise and solid the outcome. However, it was vital to this study to obtain in-depth insights from individuals. In order to have a balanced approach that allowed for in-depth data collection without causing the sample size to be too small, it was decided to gather approximately 400 questionnaires from two groups: students of universities in Australia (SUA) and students of universities in Japan (SUJ). In fact, the total number of questionnaires returned was 448 (176 from participants in Australia and 272 from participants in Japan).

⁵ The university letter-head displayed on information sheet and consent form is a mandate to the University of Tasmania Ethics Committee.

There were some inevitable limitations in the interviews as well. The background of the Japanese interview participants' differed from the Australian participants' backgrounds, because of the unavailability of participants with exactly identical backgrounds. The ideal would have been 10 university students from each group who had stayed over 12 months in the target country in the past and were still studying in a university in the target country when the interview was conducted. It was easy to identify Japanese participants with this background, but it was not the case for Australian participants. Thus, Australians (using English as their first language) were selected who were not necessarily current students, as long as they had completed 3rd year of university Japanese (or equivalent) level, had stayed in the target country for 12 months or more, and had a very high level of Japanese language competence.

Multiple interviews, with each participant being interviewed at least twice, were required to satisfy the need to assess the accuracy and solidity of the interviews. This interview technique was unfortunately impossible to implement because it would necessitate a long interview period and multiple meetings with the participants, who were staying in various places in the target countries (Australia and Japan). As a compromise, participants were given the interview questions in advance to enable them sufficient time to reflect on their daily use of euphemisms, language and communication patterns prior to the interview. This compromise was considered to have a similar effect to that of multiple interview techniques.

Interviews were conducted with ten Japanese participants living in Australia and eight Australian participants who were living in Japan at that time. Originally attempts were made to conduct ten interviews with each group of participants. The interviews with two of the Australian participants, however, were not successful, due to difficulties with the audiotape recorder provided by the Faculty of Education at the University of Tasmania. Eventually this study could only refer to the data collected from eight of the Australian participants (three males and five females).

9.4 APPLICATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Research enquiry is conventionally undertaken from the point of view of several clearly defined research objectives. In educational research, it is imperative to assess how theory impacts upon the practice of educators and students. In this sense, research should be conducted for the improvement of current educational situations or to suggest innovative lesson styles for the future. This research seeks to contribute to both pedagogical enquiry and classroom practice, by investigating an area which is often overlooked in curriculum design.

Discussion of the complexity of euphemisms and euphemistic expressions, in some sense, explains the nature of euphemism as it is embedded in language and hence can lead to improved communication. Thus it seems important that the function of euphemism should be a component of second/foreign language lessons. There are some distinctive features and steps to follow, in the design of dynamic second/foreign language lessons. For example, the value of including euphemism in the lesson is to develop the student's realisation that conventional ideas about language differ from one language to another. A focus on euphemism enables students to practice sharp observation and circumspection, especially in relation to semantic usage, and encourages continual exercise of these habits (Billington, 1966).

A critical view of euphemism can enable learners to develop an understanding of the effectiveness of euphemism and some extension of the correspondence between euphemism and society. After cultivating this expertise regarding euphemism, language teachers can apply several sets of innovative techniques in order to promote students' awareness of the power of euphemism and produce acute insights when encountering target sources. These techniques endeavour to create an understanding of the uses of euphemism from the receiver's point of view rather than the producer's. As previously explained, it should be remembered that language problems and key vocabulary and expressions need to be given special consideration when selecting topics and materials. Thus language level and topic content which is attractive to students should be employed, with reference to students' interests and curiosities. This essential pre-

teaching prior to the primary exercise and activities allows students to digest the information in the target text and can arouse their interests and give rise to further passionate discussion. The following section describes some practical applications of euphemism that could enhance second/foreign language lessons. It provides a suggested lesson scheme, and explores the re-design of titles, headlines, the presenter's role as well as that of the audience, and the style of the text.

9.4.1 Titles

One does not usually scrutinise the hidden implications behind titles. The impact of the title is absorbed unconsciously, so that the reader easily receives a similar viewpoint to the author. This has been discussed at length, suggesting that the role of the title is vital in affecting the first impression, which often remains in the readers' mind.⁶

Since it is uncomplicated 'to create an exciting headline by projecting to the population as a whole results from a sample drawn from some unique part of the population' (Jaffe & Spierer, 1987, pp. 15-16), the information receivers' neutral or personal conceptualisations can easily be demolished. Catchy and attractive titles can serve as an effective and magical vehicle to change readers' attitudes and hence produce a consensus with the author's viewpoint, and this is why the title is a resource which can be described as 'little concentrated capsules of meaning' (Goddard, 1998, p. 80, also cited in McLoughlin, 2000, p. 6). To demonstrate, an explanation follows.

In analysing titles of school textbooks, one must assess them for the following distinctive points: What kind of article is going to follow? Is there any bias present in the title (by comparing and contrasting textbook titles from different sources on the same subject)? 'What was the reader supposed to think or feel about the subject or country presented? What words in the title invited a particular response?' (Masalski, 2000, p. 261). One should also consider how students could possibly change the title into an unbiased one. Loewen (2000) directs the students in his class to use this approach, by analysing multiple American history textbooks:

⁶ Discussion about the impact of the first impression can be seen in Chapters 4 and 5.

The difference begins with some of their titles: *The Great Republic*, *The Great Experiment*, *The American Way*, *Land of the Free*, *Land of Promise*, *Rise of the American Nation*. Such titles differ from those of textbooks in all other fields. Chemistry books are called *Chemistry* or *Principles of Chemistry*, not *Rise of the Molecule*. Even literature collections are likely to be titled *Readings in American Literature*. And you can tell these history books from their covers, graced with American flags, eagles, and the Statue of Liberty (Loewen, 2000, p. 151).

It is not difficult to work out how the informer (the writer or editor of a text) attempts to manipulate the receiver's (the reader's) basic conceptualisation of a topic since a cover title from a single source directly reflects the pre-conceptions of a single informer. Students need to ascertain that the title of each text may potentially delude its readers, by virtue of the fact that it is the first information readers receive. In continuation, students need to develop critical attitudes towards titles, including acknowledgment of their inherent capacity for bias and manipulation.

It becomes extremely relevant to compare and contrast more than one available resource spotlighting one specific topic in terms of linguistic attitudes. Highly recommended resources are those which span different genres, ranging widely from advertising catch phrases to different publishers of newspapers and textbooks, targeting historical and current affairs and weekly gossip magazines. The focus of this exercise is to euphemise and dysphemise the titles of those materials by scrutinising the characteristics of any acronyms and/or abbreviations, pejorative and ameliorative expressions, compound nouns, modifications (served by both pre-modification and post-modification), elision or ellipsis, polysemy regarding connotative and denotative representation, homophone intertextuality, idioms and contractions (McLoughlin, 2000). As demonstrated in Chapter 2, various linguistic features accompany the overt identification of the target audience and content.

9.4.2 Headlines

After re-designing the titles of these texts, the exercise can move to the headlines of articles in several types of literary sources including newspapers and magazines. A number of headlines utilise 'attention-seeking strateg[ies]' such as 'deliberately

upsetting, outraging or otherwise irritating the general public...' (Goddard, 1998, p. 12), as well as methods of captivating or bewitching audiences in a positive manner. Several teaching strategies for the re-designing of headlines (based on euphemism) will be demonstrated below.

As a preparatory activity, it is recommended to exploit visual materials such as pictures, cartoons and photographs which can be found in magazines and newspapers. They usually contain a headline including a title and caption for the accompanying article. Freshly introduced lexical items such as single words, set phrases and colloquial expressions are selected in an arbitrary manner from visual materials (the headline or title) taken from the target language. An explanation is given by the students to see whether or not they can make sense of the title. They are then asked to construct their own title in response.⁷ A class of Australian students learning Japanese could be given a photograph of 15 or so Japanese students, with the title or headline 'many nationalities represent/demonstrate cultural diversity'. They could be asked to identify the nationality of the students in the photograph. Exercises of preconception dealing with identification of nationality can also be practiced employing not only visual but other resources. A class of Japanese students learning English could ideally listen to the various newscasting narratives of CNN personalities such as Rosemary Church, Michael Holms, Jenita Philips and Jason Daisy, who are all non-American, and attempt to identify their different nationalities rather than assuming that all CNN reporters are American (Sugimoto, 1996, 2000). Such exercises train them to be aware of the formidable influence of human preconceived ideas.

Most languages can be featured in either verbal or written format. If the verbally described headline is encountered, the style could be converted into the written oriented version, preserving the vital code of the message included in the original headline. Or, in reverse, a written headline including its unique typographical features could be represented in verbal format. Regarding this then, is it possible that rhetoric connected

⁷ The approach introduced here also leads to the development of knowledge, which was discussed in Chapter 4, demonstrating cognitive dissonance in belief/policy persistence, and bias composition.

with typography can affect the vital code or intention of the message? If it is possible, how and what kind of prosodic presentations and characteristics are encoded by the typographical features?

A very basic approach to the issue of preconception is to re-produce an original headline into a grammatically corrected one. Finding the incorrect grammatical points in unindicated statements easily confuses students, but they could be provided with statements and told that they contain grammatically incorrect points. Moreover, the discovery of identical words, such as synonym, euphemism, dysphemism or doublespeak, included in an article headline can make the task easier for students to tackle. In the preparatory stage, the instructor is required to point out the target lexical item in the headline and let the students discover the alternative word, all the time attracting the students' interest. Conducting games such as vocabulary races and competitions will usually act as a motivator for further exercises. Before commencing the learning experience, the teacher should prepare various headlines beginning with examples which he/she believes are unambiguous in their stylistic and structural complexity and working through to the more complex. After forming small groups of 3 to 5 students, invite one person in each group to make their way to the front. This person then secretly chooses a word from the headline and begins to describe and give hints about the word in the target language using euphemised and dysphemised vocabulary items and expressions, taking care that the exact word is not uttered. The remaining group members then race against other groups to be the first to guess the mystery word. The underlying object of the game is to be the first team to correctly guess three (or so) words from the headline. The roles in this speedy competition rotate to each member of the group, and introduction of a point system and time allowance for every answer can certainly increase the excitement of this activity.⁸ This very simple and quick task can lead to students' comprehension of the information supplied in the headline, and how distorted and ambiguous the headline is if interpreting verbatim, because of its '*tabloidese*' or '*journalese*' (Sanderson, 1999, p. 28, 29).

⁸ This type of activity is supported by Sanderson (1999) as in *vocabulary race*.

Clarification and/or complication of the headline are also fascinating ways to motivate students to understand more about euphemism. Provide the headlines that you sense that students would be interested in after careful consideration of their level and interests. Without altering the denotative and connotative meaning that students acquire, modify the headline to make it as long as possible. Due to the limited space and intention of the writer, most headlines contain omissions which are misleading for the readers so that pronouns, hyphens, polysemy, punctuations, auxiliary verbs, homonyms, articles and linking words, etc, must be adopted in order to complete the grammatically corrected sentence. A stylistically euphemised feature such as 'intertextuality' '... refers to the way one text can point to or base itself on another' (Goddard, 1998, p. 69). Alliteration, pun and wordplay, assonance, metaphor, repetition and other semantic features are also worth monitoring and scrutinising. Finally, discuss the outcomes of the above task with the whole class, comparing and contrasting the differences between the original headlines and the individual alterations as well as differences between individuals' work. After completing this task, use the reverse approach to attempt to re-design the concise version of the headline with only single words or a couple of words. Scrutinise the content of the article and identify words which accompany the headline and then continue the above procedure, conveying the correct information in the headline as a supplemental exercise.⁹

Another approach is to re-design the headline, concentrating on the number of words contained in it. For example, if the headline consists of three words, replace the first word with another, using the same part of speech, e.g., adjective for adjective, noun for noun, etc, and apply the same process to the second and the third word. Consider how many different meanings learners can derive from alternative versions. A similar but reversed version of this exercise is called *headline hangman*, in which hangman is played to form newspaper headlines (Sanderson, 1999). After dealing with the vocabulary and expressions leading to difficulties in digesting the information in the headline, a short line is drawn for each word in the headline. Then allow students to

⁹ This technique was developed with various references to the ideas of Sanderson (1999).

identify the correct word for each line and discover the original headline after reading the contents of the original article.

Descriptive materials provided should not only be about human beings, e.g. gossip about in/famous or un/popular people, but in most cases, about inanimate subjects or objects, for example advertisements for newly-invented products, services, or event promotions also focusing on written materials. Re-production of the statement comparing the inanimate or non-human characteristics to the human character is also an applicable exercise at this stage. The statement itself can also be challenged and altered to reflect the content more closely.

9.4.3 Presenter and Audience

After exploring strategies for interpreting the title and headline, this section will discuss further the content of the text itself and its re-design, according to particularly defined conditions. This section especially makes suggestions about how to reconstruct the story for a different target audience, for example, according to gender, race or age/disability, since the interrelationship between *real audience* and *implied audience* can affect the design of the text (Reah, 1998). Prior to the main exercise, some time should be allowed to discuss and specify the target audience and specify the role of the interaction between information receivers and the text, concerning 'narrator, and narrative point of view' (Goddard, 1998, p. 28).

Regarding gender, prime resources are from weekly and monthly magazines targeting either male or female readers. Presuming that the target addressor and readers are of the opposite sex, what type of interchange can be practised (Hasegawa, 2002)? For the beginning of the lexical exercise at this stage, visual materials again fuel understanding and demonstrate the bias effectively. Magazines such as *Men's Health* or *FHM*, for example, are both targeting male readers. However, their front-covers show completely diverse intentions, since masculinity is more overtly expressed by featuring the muscled male body in *Men's Health*, whereas sexual desire is created by attractive girls with seductive and provocative features as can be observed in *FHM*. Those differences can be

scrutinised by the students, and tasks such as to euphemistically re-produce the statement from the perspectives of opposite sex, various race and nationality and age group can be provided (McLoughlin, 2000).

Considering the text targeting male audiences, for example, re-construct the impressions of masculinity, focusing on the distinctions of femininity including forms which carry impreciseness like *such*, and portray emotional rather than intellectual perceptions, intensifiers (e.g., *so grateful* rather than just *so*), diminutives which indicate smaller size, qualifiers (e.g., *a bit*), polite expressions and hedges (Lakoff, 1975, also cited in McLoughlin, 2000, p. 101). In both oral and written forms, reconstruct the story of the article from the perspectives of both genders, based on positive or negative implications. After forming mixed-gender groups of three or four students, identify the euphemisms, as well as how much the scale of the message and content has changed. This should be the major focus of this exercise.

It is also worthwhile to attempt to modify this strategy so that, while retaining the original message and information, it targets an unknown audience, who is stereotypically biased or comprised of people with various biases such as nationally and culturally biased, racially and ethnically biased, gender biased, social class biased and religiously biased. The following three biased extracts are distinctive paragraphs describing individual accountability according to different sources, and indicate each writer's unique perspective and interpretation of the Japanese imperial army's stance in 1945.

After Nazi Germany and its allies in Europe had been defeated, and Germany had signed the act of unconditional surrender on May 8, 1945, the Soviet Union, true to its pledge to the USA and Great Britain, entered the war against militarist Japan in autumn 1945, to put an early end to the second world War. In a short but overwhelming operation, the Soviet army routed the one-million-strong Kwantung Japanese army, located in Manchuria and aimed against the USSR. Thus, the Soviet Army made the decisive contribution to Japan's complete defeat as well (Schmidt, Tarnovsky, & Berkhin, as cited in Masalski, 2000, p. 266).

The Japanese government ignored the Potsdam Declaration. Consequently, the U.S. dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6 and on Nagasaki on August 9. Also the USSR, ignoring the Japan-USSR Neutrality Treaty, declared war against Japan and began to invade Manchuria. Finally the Emperor decided to accept the Potsdam Declaration despite the opposition of the military, and notified the Allied side on August 14 (Inoue et al., as cited in Masalski, 2000, p. 266).

In authorizing the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, President Truman knew that he had made an extremely grave decision. He had given the order only after days of conferring with his key military and political advisers. His decision was made to force Japan to surrender immediately and thus to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of American troops. Despite the devastation of Hiroshima, the Japanese failed to surrender. On August 8 the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On August 9 the United States dropped a second atomic bomb. This one destroyed the city of Nagasaki. On August 10 the Japanese government finally asked for peace (Todd & Curti, as cited in Masalski, 2000, p. 266).

This demonstrative exercise produces immediate student involvement due to the obvious biases (Masalski, 2000). In historical documents, statements are inclined to express what happened only, while in fact how it happened should be stressed. The cognitive process always demands inference, in order to determine action, behaviour and future plans. Nevertheless, 'To recognize this does not mean that we may therefore abandon caution entirely' (Condon, Jr., 1966, p. 77). In the case of Australian and Japanese language education, compare accounts in Japanese texts with their counterparts in Australia, concerning important issues. This activity can enhance the students' supplemental motivation, which is an imperative strategy. Some issues such as whaling or discussion about the controversial lexical item *sorry* or topics that focus on the contrast between two objects should be featured and can be described as another opportunity for discussing differences.¹⁰ There are many articles discussing the conspicuous differences between two cultures such as Japan and America, however there are many intriguing resemblances that are being disregarded beneath the surface of the discussion (Betsuki, 1999; Sugimoto, 1996). For example, when concentrating on Japanese students learning about Australian English and culture, a number of similar elements shared between Japan and America can also be observed rather than just their differences.

¹⁰ Discussion on those was explored in Chapter 5: 5.4.1, 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.1.2.

These sophisticated tasks to promote understanding and use of euphemism can be utilised in Japanese lessons for Australian students, too. Those unconsciously evolved similarities can boost new recognition and horizons for the learning of Japanese as well. From the Australian students' perspective, practice in the discovery of similarities, by comparing Japan with other Asian countries, fascinates the language learner since notable differences can be observed and are detectable with little difficulty during the language lesson. It is intriguing to discover whether entirely contradictory content can be transferred from one language to another. If so, what types of lexical rhetoric are needed? If not, what is the ploy of the producer/s?

Gender, race and ethnicity are germane to social class issues, and are irksome but persistent impediments that have to be dealt with. It is obvious to note that all second language learners residing or sojourning in the target countries have experiences of discrimination, in particular racism, so these issues are always a fascinating discussion topic in lessons (Hasegawa, 2002). For example, the discussion can commence with a topic that has significance, social impact and controversy, such as the treatment of Aboriginal people and immigrant issues within Australia, or a traditional and contemporary untouchable issue like *Buraku* or internationalisation in Japan. There are numerous prejudices and areas of discrimination with associated information sites and articles which can be obtained from websites, newspapers and current affairs magazines. In this case, students can switch the connotation to a particular racially or nationality biased article. It should be a great opportunity for them to view the denotative and connotative intentions, reflected by the diversified cultural perceptions of each student in the class, while promoting their interest in identifying some issues about racial and ethnic identity in the target country, as well as their own countries of origin (Hasegawa, 2002).

Bias deriving from the major religion traditions can be illustrated by the New York catastrophe on 11 September 2001, the Bali blasts (taking 202 lives, including 88 Australians) on 12 October 2002 and the Australian embassy bombing (killing 119 people) in Jakarta on 9 September 2004. These events have led to questions about the

Muslim religion and stereotypical fallacies associated with it. These can be compared and contrasted with one's intuitive cognition and/or religious beliefs to interpret other instances which are often regarded as triggers of conflict in society. For example, whaling in Japan (as discussed earlier), in one sense, is a religiously motivated custom, as the nation is oriented towards Buddhism, which reached Japan via China and Korea in the middle of 6th century. Buddhism regards the consumption of animal meat as being sacrilegious, while whales are not considered to be animal. Some notable ordinances to protective animals issued in Japan's history were also evoked by the existence of such Buddhist precepts (Komatsu, 2002).

For Japanese students learning English in Australia, religion will be a fascinating topic since there are not many religious courses available in Japan. As demonstrated in Chapter 7: 7.6.1.1, most people (especially the younger generation) in Japan seem not to have a special sense of consideration regarding religion, compared with those in Australia. Nevertheless, they have in fact become aware of the linkage of religion and society through devastating incidents such as the two above-mentioned, which have created a great impact in the worldwide. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (as cited in Geddes, 2001) shows that Australia is a religiously diverse culture, with citizens following religions that include Islam (200,885), Buddhism (199,812), Judaism (79,805), Hinduism (67,279) and Sikhism (12,017), although it is dominated by the 18 different denominations of Christianity (12,582,764). The beliefs of the major religions include precepts and doctrines about physical contact, and sensitivities across religious barriers in particular are crucial to communication and are significant cultural factors, which can be demonstrated in language lessons.

Although nearly all Japanese nationals would describe themselves as non-religious and are considered to be secular in their outward behaviour (Miller, 1977, p. 15), this is in contrast to their behaviour on ceremonial and traditional occasions. For example, most Japanese visit a Shinto shrine to pray during the New Year days (the first 3 days of the year), infants are also blessed there, and Buddhist practices are followed for funerals. However, Christmas is celebrated in the Christian way, and Christian wedding

ceremonies are common. (Condon, 1984; Doi, 2001b; Sugimoto, 1997). In contrast with the Japanese stereotype, which implies a non-religious ideology, even many *Yakuza* (*Japanese mafia*) adhere to the customary religious disciplines which can be perceived as conformist in some way (Ieda, 1998; Kaplan & Dubro, 2003):

... sociologists estimating the distribution of individual religious affiliation in Japan encounter difficulties because the total membership of all religious groups, sects, and denominations appears to exceed the population of Japan (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 231).

This exemplary 'syncretism' (Doi, 2001b, p. 230) derives from Japanese people's subconscious sense of not belonging to a particular religious group but sensing what is germane to multiple religions, several of which are practised by the Japanese to suit the occasion. It may be interpreted from this that 'the Japanese religious system is non-exclusive, eclectic and syncretic' (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 231) and '... is not powerful enough to produce a disciplined approach to one form of worship' (Nakane, 1978, p. 161, translated by Hasegawa). It should be highlighted that among these practices, the traditional Japanese tendency to honour their ancestors has been maintained for funerals where people often pray to the 'soul and spirit' of their ancestors (Doi, 2001b, p. 231). Students learning Japanese find this most intriguing because of the similarities this custom has with other religious traditions and the way in which it differs from Christian prayer practices in which the soul of relatives is prayed for, but not to.

Compared with the above topics, as Hasegawa (2002) notes, age/disability might be less relevant to the second/foreign language learners for the reason that these topics are considered the least powerful impact creators in the social structure.¹¹ When handling issues dealing with age/disability in lessons, resources would need to be drawn from local newspaper articles about social issues, such as providing special and new equipment or facilities, pensioners' schemes, unemployment programs and so forth. A teacher should be conscious of the fact that learners might find this a slightly complicated topic if they lack awareness about these issues in their own society. The fundamental teaching approach here is similar to the approaches used for the other

¹¹ See Chapter 3: 3.2.1 for discussion of the societal structure.

topics, that is to re-write the article from different perspectives and biases as well as to discuss implications such as childishness, unreasonable style, ill-mannered and dishonest attitudes or negativism (Reah, 1998).

If the implied audience is not clearly recognisable, an effective alternative is to draw attention to the addressor. Interchanging him/her with another addressor from an entirely different category can set up new fields and perceptions; for example changing from the point of view of a politician to that of an ordinary middle class person; from a lecturer to a student; or from a celebrity to one's own boyfriend/girlfriend (Hasegawa, 2002). Another strategy is what Fairclough calls, 'synthetic personalisation' (as cited in McLoughlin, 2000, p. 68), in which one re-designs the text as though the producer and the target audience have a personal relationship. These exercises can be enjoyed by learners because they can lead to the discovery of new horizons in learning the target language and arouse their curiosity and interest in the texts. It is essential to employ a set of resources which concentrate on a specific field relevant to the target and/or original language and cultural elements within them. This ascertaining procedure '... will give your students practice in a more narrowly defined area of language and should help you predict the kind of language they will need for the task' (Sanderson, 1999, p. 120). Important questions should be asked in this regard: Does the text target the explicit gender, or use articular pronouns? (McLoughlin, 2000), 'Were any types of people and groups more heavily represented than others? Approximately what percentage of names in each index were those of minorities (sometimes difficult to ascertain)? of women? Was there significance to the percentage?' (Masalski, 2000, p. 262). 'How does the article identify its audience? What qualities does this audience have? What qualities do the people who 'oppose' the audience have?' (Reah, 1998, p. 37), and who are the interlocutors and how friendly is the producer?

9.4.4 Style and Format

Another strategic approach focuses on the style and format of the content described in the text. It concentrates on the style of the language characters utilised or so called 'language devices to make the texts attractive to the reader' (Reah, 1998, p. 7), and the

suggested activity is to modify the writing style to the speaking style, incorporating slang, dialogue and register as appropriate. Reproducing the original text in the verbal interactive format, rather than the written format, will also be a fascinating introduction to the variety of complex meanings expressed by register, not only for learners at the beginner's stage but especially for those requiring more association with academic or business writing practice. Language lessons should enable students to become conscious about the sharp discrepancies between spoken and written format and teach them to utilise the appropriate form, depending on the circumstances, in a flexible manner.

At the higher level, to some extent, the topic of the statement, rather than lexical density, will be more concentrated on and practised. The approach of reducing a headline or making it longer transforms the text into a more condensed or detailed/clearer version.¹² This approach would be more pragmatic and useful in real life if utilised to show students how to sell and/or buy items, search for employment, accommodation, a partner or even relationships in local broadsheets, tabloids and magazines. To condense the information, students should be given a restricted number of words, utilised according to the students' ability and the complexity of the content. They should then be asked to reproduce their own version of the text, conveying the original implications and message. For the task focusing on concrete and clear expression of the message, these exercises using classified advertisements could be very useful since their described messages are orally oriented, so that to render them into grammatically well-constructed sentences, by eliciting the deleted parts, would be instructive (concept adjusted from Sanderson, 1999).

It should be accentuated that there are major binary types of texts; 'hard news' texts, which are based on actual incidents and/or topics, while other types of texts contain critical perspectives, ideology and examination as the writer's major focal points (Sanderson, 1999). Prepare the text concentrating on either text type, and shift it to the other style, conveying the main information of the original text accompanied by the

¹² See Section 9.4.2 for demonstration of the effects of lengthening and shortening headlines.

writer's intention, or a new intention of the student. Compare the outcome with the other students' work and discuss the scale of the alteration made by this exercise.

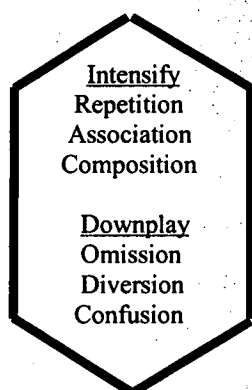
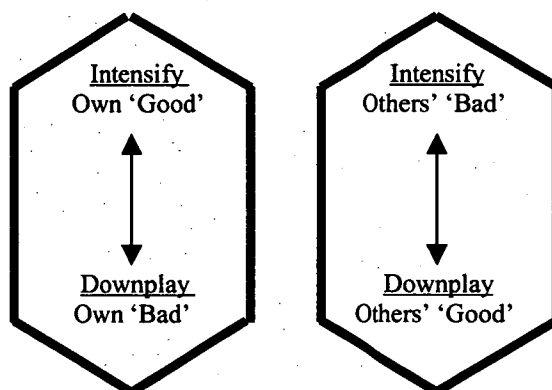
Another approach is the re-designing of the text and information to make it overstated or neutral. As pointed out in Chapter 2: 2.5.4, addressors use overstatement or rhetorical style to promote positive and negative connotations without expressing dehumanising motives. It is important to remember that lexical items such as exaggeration (or hype) and magnification are also manipulative euphemisms for hyperbole (May, 1985). The statement by U.S. President George W. Bush, on the war on terrorism, is an example of this process, as he said: 'They must decide whether they are for or against terrorism and if they decide for terrorism, then they are America's enemies' (Kelly, 2001, p. 3, also cited in Hasegawa, 2002). In this context, the neutral stance has been completely disregarded - either agreement or disagreement with the president's diplomatic strategy is demanded, after being exaggerated and interchanged by controversial phrases such as *for or against terrorism* and *America's enemies*. It is also a consequent approach to create an understated and/or neutral statement. This was also addressed in Chapter 2: 2.5.4 and illustrated by the statement of the Russian ambassador to Libya regarding the Chernobyl nuclear power plant casualties (as cited in Lutz, 1989a, p. 150): "We can say that this is a normal incident, and there is nothing abnormal. There is bound to be a technical incident' in any factory or power plant" (also cited in Hasegawa, 2002).¹³

In the approach of re-designing the statement to overstatement or understatement, a consequential element should be singled out here. Second/foreign language teachers should not overlook the linguistic nature that creation of overstatement can be practised with fewer difficulties than understatement. This fact indicates that students require more time and effort for their performance of the understatement articles than of the overstatement ones (Hasegawa, 2002). In the process of the re-design of the style, consider 'How were the texts organized: chronologically or thematically? How might the organization of a text affect a reader's view...?' (Masalski, 2000, p. 262).

¹³ See Chapter 2: 2.5.4.

Modification of a statement into an over or understatement, in relation to bias, is a common and frequently engaged technique, as overt biases are hardly recognised in the statement.¹⁴ Consequently *bias in reverse* is also a strategy which should not be overlooked in order to minimise distortion and misleading connotations. Bias-associated statements have commonly been described as overstatements and understatements, therefore it is suggested that ancillary time in a lesson should also be provided for discussion of these issues.

Techniques of overstatement and understatement are introduced by Rank (1976), under the names of Intensify and Downplay (also cited in Hasegawa, 2002). Intensify is comprised of Repetition, Association and Composition, while Downplay includes Omission, Diversion and Confusion (see Figure 9.1). These techniques are manipulated to achieve the following aims: “(1) to *intensify* their own ‘good’; (2) to *intensify* others’ ‘bad’; (3) to *downplay* their own ‘bad’; and (4) to *downplay* others’ ‘good’” (Rank, 1976, p. 15) (see Figure 9.2). Therefore, students should be carefully informed that when creating understatement (=downplay), the outcome should avoid the statement of one’s own bad aspects.

Figure 9.1**Techniques of Over/Understatement****Figure 9.2****Aims of the Intensification and Downplaying**

(Adapted from Rank, 1976, p. 8, 14, also cited in Hasegawa, 2002, page unknown)

To some extent, the comprehension and application of these techniques can lead to joking and humorous statements (Hasegawa, 2002). Humour can favourably influence

¹⁴ Discussion on the bias composition was made in Chapter 4: 4.2.4.2.

the extension of the communicative strategy, which is highly recommended in a language class. A formula for the humorous statement is “to take one ‘thing’ as a target on the nonverbal level and then talk about it, using two different but appropriate names that appear to be mutually exclusive”. As Condon, Jr., (1966, p. 53) continues, “This is the basis for the classic line, ‘That was no lady, that was my wife’, and for unintentional humor, as when one says, ‘He’s not my friend, he’s my brother’”.

It has been explained extensively that almost all statements are composed of multifarious lexical substitutions. Therefore a statement can be transformed into a funny one by simple reverses of the above fundamental framework for humour, which aim at the target language at the level of presupposition shared with common sense and which describe it with a range of colourful expressions. Materials such as formalistic and serious comments can often be obtained, especially from the career/positions vacant and positions wanted sections in a newspaper. Still the question most asked in this practice is, ‘How much subjectivity and objectivity is interchangeable?’ This is the point of the activity. For example, it would be successful in the lesson if some students could create authentic but palpable and modifiable statements such as the following from the employment section in a newspaper;

SILLY OLD BUGGER

early 50s seeks easy, boring job with no responsibility or effort. Big pay, good conditions required, company car an advantage. All offers considered. Call ### on ****. (Not too early).

(“Silly Old Bugger”, 2001, original phone number was replaced with ### and **** by Hasegawa).

Considering humour, employment of cartoons as text is also considered to be another great source of material. After pre-teaching any difficult vocabulary and expressions, students should digest the whole narrative in the cartoon, which usually consists of four boxes wherein the utterance in each box is to be euphemised or dysphemised, depending on the list of suggestions given by the instructor, or set up previously by the whole class or the groups. Examples of these suggestions can include interlocutors in the cartoon who are short tempered, lazy, polite or violent, or various settings such as different environmental situations and relationships between interlocutors. The utterances in the

first and the last box should remain unchanged since the coherence is rudimentary. Since it can be very difficult for non-native speakers of the target language to comprehend the information, and immensely funny narrative sometimes is not sensed in the same way by non-native speakers of the target language, an alternative approach would be to allow them to render the utterances in each box according to the nature of the sense of humour constructed by individual and cultural intuition. Compare and contrast the original and altered versions of the cartoon with other classmates, considering the factors that make the altered version amusing.¹⁵ This will eventually bring about the learning of the different mechanisms of humour between the target and the original language.

The horoscope section is popular in magazines and tabloids. Students can be asked to alter the published horoscopes, and to transform each point into a satisfactory or completely positive one, which would be an appropriate task to boost learners' motivation. Each horoscope contains plausible and curious predictions and/or prophecies, so that it is an appropriate, motivational task to prepare the day's horoscope, described not only from a single source but in various ways. Since this type of topic and focus on the material may be linked closely to the individual learner's sensitivity and personal belief and ethnicity, extra care to avoid offence is required (Sanderson, 1999).

Application of knowledge and the techniques of overstatement and understatement, including alternative labels and expressions created by double/multithink, sometimes lead to lies or betrayal, and this could accelerate the conflict surrounding some issues. In addition, restricted use of vocabulary and expression is conspicuous in examples such as the *Buraku* and history textbook issues in Japan and the Australian Aborigine's reconciliation argument, as well as the whaling issue in both countries. Explicit use of some expressions cultivated by unconscious prejudice contributes to the utilisation of PC/censored terms by second/foreign language learners, thus requiring additional circumspection in the language teaching context, due to linguistic, sociocultural and communicative factors, which are easily slipped into conversation and prevail over the interacting ability. Moreover, in terms of PC, the possibility of misinterpretation, due to

¹⁵ Adapted from a variety of ideas in Sanderson (1999).

the lack of knowledge of lexical connotations, is on the increase for second/foreign language learners in general, who find more difficulties with current controversial issues, especially those such as sexism, racism, disability and ageism, because they are perceived uniquely in different cultures. Furthermore, these misunderstandings are possibly viewed as personal perceptions and negative impressions might be endemic to the conceptualisation of native speakers. It is certain that these touchy and sensitive issues require extreme caution and monitoring, yet simultaneous discussion of these issues stimulates students' motivation and interest in class.

The activities suggested above could produce an effective and pragmatic second/foreign language lesson, since most learners have not experienced formal letter writing in the target language. This genre requires peculiar set phrases, diverse styles and formations which are different from those in their first language. In fact a large number of students will encounter a need for formal linguistic knowledge such as letter writing; in any event this is an indispensable social activity and its relevance is that it helps to promote the learner's insight into the use of the target language.

Use of the suggested activities can contribute to an effective enquiry about the components of the materials such as titles, covers, presenters, audiences and styles, as well as visual supports (including graphics and narratives), and whether any alternative ways are available to compose them. However, the activities should be underpinned by the instructor's pre-acquired knowledge and techniques.

9.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present research explicates several directions for future research projects in the area of euphemism, especially as it relates to applied-linguistics and second/foreign language education. Suggested future research is described below.

Research is needed to investigate euphemisms from the perspectives of other nationalities, rather than only Japanese and Australians, to reveal the nature of similarities and differences in use of euphemism between Australians and other inner-

circle countries. There is also a need to conduct further research with particular target participants from outer-circle countries and expanding-circle countries.

This thesis identified that euphemism is not discrete but occurs in a variety of fields, so that discourse analysis for euphemism is also a useful area for future study. Therefore, a potentially rich area for future research is an exploration of particular spheres embedding euphemism.

Another area where more research is needed is an investigation of the euphemisms used by teachers in the second/foreign language class environment. This thesis has identified that many non-native speakers of the target language encounter problematic euphemistic experiences in contact situations. Since a communication organised by teacher and student is also a critical contact situation, investigation of teacher-student contact situations, targeting students of the same nationality but different grade levels, is warranted. The mechanisms and characteristics of how teachers initiate euphemisms in some areas such as persuading and negotiating situations might provide suggestions for fluid communication between teacher and students, which can be applied to multiple fields and subjects by teachers.

Research is required to compare and contrast the degrees to which particular euphemisms, dysphemisms, and doublespeak are used, particularly the different degree and scale felt by participants from various areas within a single country about particular euphemisms and their strength.

9.6 CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented a critical examination of the use and value of euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak, and their functions in English and Japanese. These functions emerge naturally within statements. A statement can basically be categorised as the selection of an appropriate expression within a given context reflecting both the field being discussed and the field where the discussion takes place (Goddard, 1998; Lutz, 1996). Thus, euphemism, dysphemism and doublespeak can be utilised

interchangeably according to the speaker's purposes, the different desirable semantic outcomes and the inclusion of intermingled elements of communication settings within the discussion.

Moreover, the importance of the contexts in which euphemism is employed in a social discourse in the foreign language should be considered. If people simply use a literal interpretation in the target language (or society) to comprehend the superficial contexts, yet no explanation is provided to adjust the chasm between languages and allow for flexibility of expression or translation beforehand, euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions can potentially be misunderstood. The many divergent perspectives embedded in the two different languages produce more possibilities for conflict to occur, because euphemism and dysphemism are not the only ways of expressing certain concepts or describing situations, even within the mono-lingual environment.

Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5, have mainly achieved the object of identifying the functions of euphemistic expressions in terms of communication, which was Research Objective (RO) 1 of this study. Chapter 7 considered RO2, which aimed to investigate the characteristic features of contexts in which native and non-native speakers of the target language (English or Japanese) encounter the positive and negative aspects of euphemism, and RO3 which aimed to examine the target group's (native and non-native speakers of the target language) conceptualisation of and attitudes towards euphemism and its role in different social contexts. Naturally, RO3's target group category was native speakers of the target language. Chapter 8 addressed RO2 and RO3, as well as RO4, to investigate how euphemistic expressions are handled by Japanese English language learners and Australian Japanese language learners when faced with socio-cultural difficulties. Accordingly, RO3's target group was non-native speakers of the target language. This simultaneous investigation was undertaken of the research data relating to RO2 and RO3, due to their intersection and explication. Summaries of the findings of these chapters have been presented in Chapter 9, which also shows a set of tentative methods to be utilised in the second/foreign language lesson, especially in Japanese and Australian contexts. Any one of these aspects could be further scrutinised

CHAPTER 9 DISCUSSION OF EUPHEMISM AND SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

and form the target of further research. However, this research singles out the euphemism and its relevancy to the social customs in everyday language use, which is implicit in linguistically, culturally and communicatively oriented communication.

Euphemism-oriented programs should be more pronounced in second/foreign language teaching. The importance of euphemism and related second/foreign language teaching techniques and implications have been demonstrated in this thesis. This work argues that an emphasis on euphemism in second/foreign language education will stimulate the learners' interest and curiosity and, combined with practical exercises, can reflect current political and social phenomena.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

INFORMATION SHEET (questionnaire)

Euphemism in English and Japanese; A Pragmatic Contrastive Study

Chief investigator: Dr. Thao Le, Researcher: Mr. Hiroshi Hasegawa

The project above is part of the requirements for a degree (PhD) to be obtained by the researcher, Mr. Hiroshi Hasegawa, at the University of Tasmania. The study investigates euphemistic forms and functions of English and Japanese in a contrastive analysis perspective and the views of Japanese EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students and Australian Japanese language learners on euphemism and their implications in education.

As part of the project, I am seeking your consent to participate in a questionnaire. The questionnaire will be undertaken by 400 university students (200 Japanese and 200 Australian). The questionnaire contains Part A (Demographic Information) and Part B (Non-Language and Language Specific Questions). The questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. All participation for the questionnaire is entirely voluntary so that there is no payment to be made to any participants.

The questionnaires may contain some offensive terms/expressions which are of an especially personal nature (subjects' attitudes, beliefs, experiences, practices, etc). Therefore, it is ensured that your confidentiality and freedom to withdraw is established. All gathered information and its material such as returned questionnaires will be coded to ensure confidentiality for the participants. Access to the data will be open only to the chief investigator and the researcher, and be stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the chief investigator of this research at the University of Tasmania.

The project has received ethical approval from the University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns of an ethical nature or complaints regarding the manner in which the project is conducted, you may contact the Chair or Executive officer of the University of Tasmania Human Research Ethics Committee. (In 2001 the Chair is Dr. Janet Vial, phone 61-3-62264842 and the phone number of the Executive Officer is 61-3-62262763.) If participants are students of the University of Tasmania, and have any ethical or personal concerns related to the study, they may choose to discuss these concerns confidentially with a University Student Counsellor.

If at any time you wish to discuss the study or if you have any questions concerning the research procedures please contact the chief investigator, Dr. Thao Le: TEL : 61-3-63243696 (BH), FAX : 61-3-63243048 (work), E-MAIL : T.Le@utas.edu.au, or the researcher Mr. Hiroshi Hasegawa: TEL : 61-3-63243646 (BH), FAX : 61-3-63243652 (work) E-MAIL : hiroshih@postoffice.utas.edu.au . Participants who wish to be

informed of the overall results of the study or personal data at its conclusion, or of significant findings during the course of the study which might affect participants, may also contact either the chief investigator or the researcher.

If you agree to participate in the project, please begin answering the questions.

Appendix 2**QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE**

- This questionnaire contains two parts; **Part A:** Demographic Information and **Part B:** Non-Language and Language Specific Questions.
- This questionnaire is about the concept 'euphemism' with which you may not be familiar. Here is a brief explanation about it to help you in answering the questionnaire. Broadly speaking, euphemism is the use of words/expressions to replace ones which might be seen as crude, embarrassing or as conveying negative connotations to the listener. For example, prostitute can be replaced by *hooker*, fart with *break wind* and one is pregnant with *one is expecting* etc.
- All information gathered from this questionnaire and from recorded tapes will be coded to ensure confidentiality for the participants. Access to the data will be given only to the chief investigator, Dr. Thao Le and the researcher, Mr. Hiroshi Hasegawa, both at School of Education, the University of Tasmania, Australia.

Appendix 3

PART A: Demographic Information

- Please put a circle around the letter to indicate your response. Also, give specific information for No 3 (if your first language differs from English) and No 5 (if your faculty is not shown).

1. Gender:

a. Male / b. Female
2. Age:

a. 16 – 20, b. 21 – 25, c. 26 – 30, d. 31 – 35,
e. 36 – 40, f. 41 – 45, g. 46 – 50, h. over 50
3. First Language:

a. English / b. Other.....
4. Current status:

a. Undergraduate student / b. Postgraduate student
5. Which faculty do you belong to?

a. Faculty of Arts
b. Faculty of Commerce
c. Faculty of Education
d. Faculty of Health Science
e. Faculty of Law
f. Faculty of Science and Engineering
g. Other.....

6.

Please rank your Japanese language ability by putting a circle around the appropriate number in the scale below. The larger the number is, the higher advanced you are. Namely, 1 for None and 9 for Extremely Fluent.

None

←————→

Extremely
Fluent

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

7.

Please put a circle around the number in the scale below which best describes yourself in terms of socio-political attitude. The larger number is, the more liberal you are. Namely, 1 for Very Conservative and 9 for Extremely Radical/Liberal.

Very
Conservative

←————→

Extremely
Radical/Liberal

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Appendix 4**PART B: Language and Non-Language Specific Questions**

- Please circle the number of the response that corresponds most closely to your view/attitude towards each statement.
- The numbers corresponding to responses are: **5** for Strongly Agree, **4** for Agree, **3** for Neutral, **2** for Disagree, and **1** for Strongly Disagree.
- If you wish to make further comments on the questions given, please do so on the comment sheet attached.
- You are required to answer 67 questions. Please take as long as is necessary to answer all the questions with care.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q1	Euphemism plays an important role in interpersonal communication.	5	4	3	2	1
Q2	Euphemism can be used inappropriately.	5	4	3	2	1
Q3	Swearing is used primarily to express strong feelings, not to insult others.	5	4	3	2	1
Q4	All crude words/expressions should be prohibited.	5	4	3	2	1
Q5	Some crude words/expressions convey exact meaning.	5	4	3	2	1
Q6	There is a difference between impolite language and abusive language.	5	4	3	2	1
Q7	Words/expressions should be used precisely even if they are crude or offensive.	5	4	3	2	1
Q8	Females are more conscious of euphemism than males.	5	4	3	2	1
Q9	Older people are more conscious of euphemism than teenagers.	5	4	3	2	1
Q10	Radical people use more abusive language than conservative people.	5	4	3	2	1
Q11	Politicians employ euphemism consciously.	5	4	3	2	1
Q12	It is always possible to substitute terms/expressions in cases where negative feelings are aroused.	5	4	3	2	1
Q13	People should consciously employ euphemism in regard to terms that relate to sexual activities.	5	4	3	2	1
Q14	People should consciously employ euphemism in regard to terms that relate to health.	5	4	3	2	1
Q15	People should consciously employ euphemism in regard to	5	4	3	2	1

	terms that relate to race.					
Q16	People should consciously employ euphemism in regard to terms that relate to religion.	5	4	3	2	1
Q17	People should consciously employ euphemism in regard to terms that relate to death.	5	4	3	2	1
Q18	Euphemism reflects societal values.	5	4	3	2	1
Q19	Euphemism causes misunderstanding in communication.	5	4	3	2	1
Q20	Using euphemism promotes social harmony.	5	4	3	2	1
Q21	Euphemism reflects attitudes towards others.	5	4	3	2	1
Q22	Euphemism indicates care for others.	5	4	3	2	1
Q23	Avoiding the use of euphemism can be very harmful.	5	4	3	2	1
Q24	Euphemism should receive greater attention in the mass media.	5	4	3	2	1
Q25	Euphemism should receive greater attention in the area of interpersonal communication.	5	4	3	2	1
Q26	Euphemism should receive greater attention in the area of intercultural communication.	5	4	3	2	1
Q27	Euphemism should receive greater attention in academic writing.	5	4	3	2	1
Q28	Euphemism should receive greater attention in educational programs.	5	4	3	2	1
Q29	Euphemism is learned primarily by socialisation.	5	4	3	2	1
Q30	Euphemism is learned primarily by formal education.	5	4	3	2	1
Q31	Euphemism is tied to political correctness.	5	4	3	2	1
Q32	People should be conscious of euphemism when talking about gender.	5	4	3	2	1
Q33	Gender-biased terms should be avoided.	5	4	3	2	1
Q34	People should be conscious of euphemism when talking about racial issues.	5	4	3	2	1
Q35	Race-biased terms should be avoided.	5	4	3	2	1
Q36	People should be conscious of euphemism when talking about age.	5	4	3	2	1
Q37	Age-biased terms should be avoided.	5	4	3	2	1
Q38	People should be conscious of euphemism when talking about personal disability.	5	4	3	2	1
Q39	Personal disability-biased terms should be avoided.	5	4	3	2	1
Q40	We cannot possibly avoid discriminatory terms.	5	4	3	2	1
Q41	The effectiveness of language use is determined by the speaker's personal character.	5	4	3	2	1
Q42	Effectiveness of language use is determined by the hearer's attitude.	5	4	3	2	1
Q43	People should use polite language when talking to strangers.	5	4	3	2	1
Q44	People should use polite language when talking to those of the same gender as much as with those of opposite gender.	5	4	3	2	1

Q45	People should use polite language when talking to older people.	5	4	3	2	1
Q46	People should use polite language when talking to those of the same generation.	5	4	3	2	1
Q47	People should use polite language when talking to younger people.	5	4	3	2	1
Q48	People should use polite language when talking to their parents.	5	4	3	2	1
Q49	People should use polite language when talking to their friends.	5	4	3	2	1
Q50	People should use polite language when talking to their teachers.	5	4	3	2	1
Q51	People should use polite language when talking to foreigners in their first language. (In other words, native speakers of English should use polite English when talking to non-native speakers of English.)	5	4	3	2	1
Q52	People should use polite language when talking to foreigners in their second or another language. (In other words, native speakers of English should use Japanese or another language spoken by the communicators in a polite way when talking to Japanese people.)	5	4	3	2	1
Q53	People should use polite language in educational institutions.	5	4	3	2	1
Q54	People should use polite language in a church/ shrine/ temple.	5	4	3	2	1
Q55	People should use polite language when overseas.	5	4	3	2	1
Q56	People should use polite language in public debate.	5	4	3	2	1
Q57	The word <i>bugger</i> should replace the word <i>shit</i> in daily communication.	5	4	3	2	1
Q58	The word <i>defence force</i> should replace the word <i>military</i> in daily communication.	5	4	3	2	1
Q59	The word <i>euthanasia</i> should replace the phrase <i>assist to kill a person</i> in daily communication	5	4	3	2	1
Q60	The expression <i>(company is) re-structured</i> should replace the expression <i>(a person is) laid off/fired</i> in daily communication.	5	4	3	2	1
Q61	The word <i>subsidised dating</i> is more deceptive than <i>prostitution</i> .	5	4	3	2	1
Q62	The word <i>flight attendant</i> contains less gender-bias than <i>steward/ stewardess</i> .	5	4	3	2	1
Q63	The word <i>black</i> is less offensive than <i>Negro</i> .	5	4	3	2	1
Q64	The word <i>blind</i> is more offensive than <i>visually impaired</i> .	5	4	3	2	1
Q65	The word <i>blind</i> is more offensive than <i>disabled</i> .	5	4	3	2	1
Q66	The word <i>visually impaired</i> is more offensive than <i>disabled</i> .	5	4	3	2	1
Q67	The word <i>premium</i> is more deceptive than the word <i>better</i> .	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix 5**INFORMATION SHEET (interview)**

Euphemism in English and Japanese; A Pragmatic Contrastive Study

Chief investigator: Dr. Thao Le, Researcher: Mr. Hiroshi Hasegawa

The project above is part of the requirements for a degree (PhD) to be obtained by the researcher, Mr. Hiroshi Hasegawa, at the University of Tasmania. The study investigates euphemistic forms and functions of English and Japanese in a contrastive analysis perspective and the views of Japanese EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students and Australian Japanese language learners on euphemism and their implications in education.

As part of the project, I am seeking your consent to participate in an interview. The interviews will be undertaken by 10 Australian (preferably, university students) regarding Japanese euphemism, and 10 Japanese (preferably, university students) regarding English euphemism. They must have lived in the target country for at least 12 months and been currently living in the target country. In terms of the Australian participants, they must have completed or have Japanese language ability of 3rd year university (or equivalent) level.

The interview will seek your demographic information first, and then move to the non-language and language specific questions. The interview will take approximately 1 hour and be tape-recorded. We will arrange to meet at your home or an institution such as a classroom or a library with a permission of the authority. All participation for the questionnaire is entirely voluntary so that there is no payment to be made to any participants.

The interview may contain some offensive terms/expressions which are of an especially personal nature (subjects' attitudes, beliefs, experiences, practices, etc). Therefore, it is ensured that your confidentiality and freedom to withdraw is established. All gathered information and its material will be coded to ensure your confidentiality. Access to the data will be open only to the chief investigator and the researcher, and be stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the chief investigator of this research at the University of Tasmania.

The project has received ethical approval from the University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns of an ethical nature or complaints regarding the manner in which the project is conducted, you may contact the Chair or Executive officer of the University of Tasmania Human Research Ethics Committee. (In 2001 the Chair is Dr Janet Vial, phone 61-3-62264842 and the 'phone number of the Executive Officer is 61-3-62262763.) If participants are students of the University of Tasmania, and have any ethical or personal concerns related to the study, they may choose to discuss these concerns confidentially with a University Student Counsellor.

If at any time you wish to discuss the study or if you have any questions concerning the research procedures please contact the chief investigator, Dr. Thao Le: TEL : 61-3-63243696 (BH), FAX : 61-3-63243048 (work), E-MAIL : T.Le@utas.edu.au , or the researcher Mr. Hiroshi Hasegawa: TEL : 61-3-63243646 (BH), FAX : 61-3-63243652 (work) E-MAIL : hiroshih.postoffice.utas.edu.au . Participants who wish to be informed of the overall results of the study or personal data at its conclusion, or of significant findings during the course of the study which might affect participants, may also contact either the chief investigator or the researcher.

If you agree to participate in the project, please complete the consent form.

Appendix 6**Questions in the Interview**

- 1 In your opinion, what is polite language in your target language?
- 2 On the other hand, what is offensive language? (eg., rude, aggressive, harmful)
- 3 How often do you think you use those expressions?
- 4 What kind of expressions/euphemisms are they?
- 5 Have you had any experience that euphemisms are advantageous?
- 6 On the other hand, have you had any disadvantageous experience?
- 7 What kind of euphemisms can you personally accept?
In what situations and why?
- 8 What kind of euphemisms do you think are socially acceptable/accepted?
In what situations and why?
- 9 What kind of euphemisms do you think are socially unacceptable/unaccepted?
In what situations and why?
- 10 Can you tell me your personal experience with euphemistic expressions when someone in the target language is telling a joke, swearing, or being polite (politeness expressions, and vagueness as well)?
What kind of euphemisms were they? Who did you talk to? Where did it happen? Why did you understand/not understand?
- 11 On the other hand, can you tell me your personal experience with euphemistic expressions in the target language when you tell/told a joke, swear/swore, are/were being polite (politeness expressions, and vagueness as well), see/saw the advertisements/newspaper (writing/non-verbal)?
What kind of euphemisms were they? Who did you talk to? Where did it happen? Why did you understand/not understand?
- 12 Do you think that you change the way of using euphemisms in your first language compared with in your second language? Why?
- 13 Would you explain the areas/issues/topics where you exercise caution by euphemisms? Why?
- 14 What kind of euphemisms do you try, or try not to use? Would you give some examples, please?
- 15 Would you tell me your personal opinions about the basic problems regarding euphemism comprehension in the target language? What factors affect you more than the others, and why do you think so?
Cultural background/ Gender/ Age/ Linguistic knowledge, and others.
- 16 Do you attempt to solve the problems? If yes, explain how to tackle them. If no, please explain why not.
- 17 Do you think that people around you use euphemism with you (in your target language)? Why and when, or why not do you think they use euphemisms?

Appendix 7**Chi-Square Test with A-Q1**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q1	442 (98.7%)	.099
B-Q2	444 (99.1%)	.335
B-Q3	442 (98.7%)	.015
B-Q4	442 (98.7%)	.011
B-Q5	436 (97.3%)	.381
B-Q6	441 (98.4%)	.877
B-Q7	438 (97.8%)	.169
B-Q8	442 (98.7%)	.017
B-Q9	440 (98.2%)	.129
B-Q10	440 (98.2%)	.130
B-Q11	439 (98.0%)	.572
B-Q12	441 (98.4%)	.978
B-Q13	439 (98.0%)	.481
B-Q14	438 (97.8%)	.112
B-Q15	439 (98.0%)	.759
B-Q16	438 (97.8%)	.026
B-Q17	438 (97.8%)	.098
B-Q18	437 (97.5%)	.824
B-Q19	439 (98.0%)	.423
B-Q20	440 (98.2%)	.561
B-Q21	440 (98.2%)	.294
B-Q22	440 (98.2%)	.293
B-Q23	437 (97.5%)	.283
B-Q24	440 (98.2%)	.010
B-Q25	438 (97.8%)	.900
B-Q26	439 (98.0%)	.649
B-Q27	439 (98.0%)	.921
B-Q28	439 (98.0%)	.336
B-Q29	439 (98.0%)	.026
B-Q30	439 (98.0%)	.192
B-Q31	438 (97.8%)	.256
B-Q32	437 (97.5%)	.528
B-Q33	438 (97.8%)	.092
B-Q34	441 (98.4%)	.687
B-Q35	440 (98.2%)	.091
B-Q36	441 (98.4%)	.023
B-Q37	441 (98.4%)	.024
B-Q38	438 (97.8%)	.002
B-Q39	441 (98.4%)	.185
B-Q40	440 (98.2%)	.393
B-Q41	437 (97.5%)	.620
B-Q42	441 (98.4%)	.239
B-Q43	441 (98.4%)	.379
B-Q44	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q45	441 (98.4%)	.097
B-Q46	439 (98.0%)	.278
B-Q47	440 (98.2%)	.203
B-Q48	440 (98.2%)	.009
B-Q49	441 (98.4%)	.073

B-Q50	440 (98.2%)	.132
B-Q51	439 (98.0%)	.558
B-Q52	436 (97.3%)	.234
B-Q53	440 (98.2%)	.076
B-Q54	439 (98.0%)	.113
B-Q55	438 (97.8%)	.283
B-Q56	438 (97.8%)	.310
B-Q57	441 (98.4%)	.348
B-Q58	442 (98.7%)	.001
B-Q59	439 (98.0%)	.031
B-Q60	441 (98.4%)	.249
B-Q61	438 (97.8%)	.490
B-Q62	440 (98.2%)	.044
B-Q63	441 (98.4%)	.401
B-Q64	438 (97.8%)	.053
B-Q65	439 (98.0%)	.401
B-Q66	440 (98.2%)	.011
B-Q67	441 (98.4%)	.108

Appendix 8**Chi-Square Test with A-Q2**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q1	443 (98.9%)	.954
B-Q2	445 (99.3%)	.000
B-Q3	443 (98.9%)	.090
B-Q4	443 (98.9%)	.147
B-Q5	437 (97.5%)	.189
B-Q6	442 (98.7%)	.006
B-Q7	439 (98.0%)	.874
B-Q8	443 (98.9%)	.791
B-Q9	441 (98.4%)	.002
B-Q10	441 (98.4%)	.009
B-Q11	440 (98.2%)	.902
B-Q12	442 (98.7%)	.295
B-Q13	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q14	439 (98.0%)	.001
B-Q15	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q16	439 (98.0%)	.000
B-Q17	439 (98.0%)	.000
B-Q18	438 (97.8%)	.671
B-Q19	440 (98.2%)	.990
B-Q20	441 (98.4%)	.009
B-Q21	441 (98.4%)	.262
B-Q22	441 (98.4%)	.229
B-Q23	438 (97.8%)	.658
B-Q24	441 (98.4%)	.044
B-Q25	439 (98.0%)	.229
B-Q26	440 (98.2%)	.238
B-Q27	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q28	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q29	440 (98.2%)	.807
B-Q30	440 (98.2%)	.040
B-Q31	439 (98.0%)	.134
B-Q32	438 (97.8%)	.012
B-Q33	439 (98.0%)	.202
B-Q34	442 (98.7%)	.806
B-Q35	441 (98.4%)	.217
B-Q36	442 (98.7%)	.074
B-Q37	442 (98.7%)	.110
B-Q38	439 (98.0%)	.135
B-Q39	442 (98.7%)	.728
B-Q40	441 (98.4%)	.035
B-Q41	438 (97.8%)	.025
B-Q42	442 (98.7%)	.124
B-Q43	442 (98.7%)	.687
B-Q44	441 (98.4%)	.490
B-Q45	442 (98.7%)	.015
B-Q46	440 (98.2%)	.216
B-Q47	441 (98.4%)	.272
B-Q48	441 (98.4%)	.062
B-Q49	442 (98.7%)	.004

B-Q50	441 (98.4%)	.911
B-Q51	440 (98.2%)	.958
B-Q52	437 (97.5%)	.993
B-Q53	441 (98.4%)	.948
B-Q54	440 (98.2%)	.972
B-Q55	439 (98.0%)	.052
B-Q56	439 (98.0%)	.989
B-Q57	442 (98.7%)	.731
B-Q58	443 (98.9%)	.720
B-Q59	440 (98.2%)	.836
B-Q60	442 (98.7%)	.798
B-Q61	439 (98.0%)	.392
B-Q62	441 (98.4%)	.831
B-Q63	442 (98.7%)	.000
B-Q64	439 (98.0%)	.049
B-Q65	440 (98.2%)	.253
B-Q66	441 (98.4%)	.318
B-Q67	442 (98.7%)	.024

Appendix 9

Chi-Square Test with A-Q3

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q1	428 (95.5%)	.980
B-Q2	430 (96.0%)	.000
B-Q3	428 (95.5%)	.130
B-Q4	428 (95.5%)	.000
B-Q5	422 (94.2%)	.000
B-Q6	427 (95.3%)	.000
B-Q7	424 (94.6%)	.994
B-Q8	428 (95.5%)	.809
B-Q9	426 (95.1%)	.996
B-Q10	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q11	425 (94.9%)	.811
B-Q12	427 (95.3%)	.197
B-Q13	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q14	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q15	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q16	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q17	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q18	424 (94.6%)	.505
B-Q19	425 (94.9%)	.958
B-Q20	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q21	426 (95.1%)	.154
B-Q22	426 (95.1%)	.030
B-Q23	423 (94.4%)	.012
B-Q24	426 (95.1%)	.027
B-Q25	424 (94.6%)	.998
B-Q26	425 (94.9%)	.539
B-Q27	425 (94.9%)	.016
B-Q28	425 (94.9%)	.834
B-Q29	425 (94.9%)	.791
B-Q30	425 (94.9%)	.366
B-Q31	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q32	423 (94.4%)	.119
B-Q33	424 (94.6%)	.941
B-Q34	427 (95.3%)	.170
B-Q35	426 (95.1%)	.237
B-Q36	427 (95.3%)	.072
B-Q37	427 (95.3%)	.144
B-Q38	424 (94.6%)	.930
B-Q39	427 (95.3%)	.003
B-Q40	426 (95.1%)	.556
B-Q41	424 (94.6%)	.978
B-Q42	427 (95.3%)	.283
B-Q43	427 (95.3%)	.579
B-Q44	426 (95.1%)	.283
B-Q45	427 (95.3%)	.966
B-Q46	425 (94.9%)	.000
B-Q47	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q48	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q49	427 (95.3%)	.000

B-Q50	426 (95.1%)	.681
B-Q51	425 (94.9%)	.175
B-Q52	424 (94.6%)	.732
B-Q53	426 (95.1%)	.448
B-Q54	425 (94.9%)	.162
B-Q55	424 (94.6%)	.017
B-Q56	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q57	427 (95.3%)	.003
B-Q58	428 (95.5%)	.927
B-Q59	425 (94.9%)	.275
B-Q60	428 (95.5%)	.426
B-Q61	424 (94.6%)	.000
B-Q62	426 (95.1%)	.181
B-Q63	427 (95.3%)	.000
B-Q64	424 (94.6%)	.288
B-Q65	425 (94.9%)	.001
B-Q66	426 (95.1%)	.000
B-Q67	427 (95.3%)	.969

Appendix 10**Chi-Square Test with A-Q4**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q1	441 (98.4%)	.672
B-Q2	443 (98.9%)	.013
B-Q3	441 (98.4%)	.610
B-Q4	441 (98.4%)	.864
B-Q5	435 (97.1%)	.317
B-Q6	440 (98.2%)	.020
B-Q7	437 (97.5%)	.724
B-Q8	441 (98.4%)	.538
B-Q9	439 (98.0%)	.000
B-Q10	439 (98.0%)	.003
B-Q11	438 (97.8%)	.589
B-Q12	440 (98.2%)	.036
B-Q13	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q14	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q15	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q16	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q17	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q18	437 (97.5%)	.010
B-Q19	438 (97.8%)	.202
B-Q20	439 (98.0%)	.059
B-Q21	439 (98.0%)	.009
B-Q22	439 (98.0%)	.002
B-Q23	436 (97.3%)	.084
B-Q24	439 (98.0%)	.869
B-Q25	437 (97.5%)	.002
B-Q26	438 (97.8%)	.001
B-Q27	438 (97.8%)	.090
B-Q28	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q29	438 (97.8%)	.982
B-Q30	438 (97.8%)	.475
B-Q31	438 (97.8%)	.156
B-Q32	436 (97.3%)	.000
B-Q33	437 (97.5%)	.204
B-Q34	440 (98.2%)	.563
B-Q35	439 (98.0%)	.986
B-Q36	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q37	440 (98.2%)	.001
B-Q38	437 (97.5%)	.375
B-Q39	440 (98.2%)	.314
B-Q40	439 (98.0%)	.317
B-Q41	437 (97.5%)	.114
B-Q42	440 (98.2%)	.104
B-Q43	440 (98.2%)	.153
B-Q44	439 (98.0%)	.664
B-Q45	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q46	438 (97.8%)	.570
B-Q47	439 (98.0%)	.196
B-Q48	439 (98.0%)	.506
B-Q49	440 (98.2%)	.026

B-Q50	439 (98.0%)	.236
B-Q51	438 (97.8%)	.836
B-Q52	435 (97.1%)	.770
B-Q53	439 (98.0%)	.782
B-Q54	438 (97.8%)	.917
B-Q55	437 (97.5%)	.444
B-Q56	437 (97.5%)	.735
B-Q57	440 (98.2%)	.159
B-Q58	441 (98.4%)	.784
B-Q59	438 (97.8%)	.272
B-Q60	441 (98.4%)	.320
B-Q61	437 (97.5%)	.352
B-Q62	439 (98.0%)	.211
B-Q63	440 (98.2%)	.010
B-Q64	437 (97.5%)	.670
B-Q65	438 (97.8%)	.348
B-Q66	439 (98.0%)	.100
B-Q67	440 (98.2%)	.764

Appendix 11**Chi-Square Test with A-Q5**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q1	437 (97.5%)	.865
B-Q2	439 (98.0%)	.583
B-Q3	437 (97.5%)	.937
B-Q4	437 (97.5%)	.390
B-Q5	431 (96.2%)	.000
B-Q6	436 (97.3%)	.504
B-Q7	433 (96.7%)	.506
B-Q8	437 (97.5%)	.008
B-Q9	435 (97.1%)	.000
B-Q10	435 (97.1%)	.131
B-Q11	434 (96.9%)	.471
B-Q12	436 (97.3%)	.000
B-Q13	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q14	433 (96.7%)	.000
B-Q15	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q16	433 (96.7%)	.005
B-Q17	433 (96.7%)	.003
B-Q18	432 (96.4%)	.208
B-Q19	434 (96.9%)	.757
B-Q20	435 (97.1%)	.002
B-Q21	435 (97.1%)	.029
B-Q22	435 (97.1%)	.188
B-Q23	432 (96.4%)	.086
B-Q24	435 (97.1%)	.481
B-Q25	433 (96.7%)	.000
B-Q26	434 (96.9%)	.315
B-Q27	434 (96.9%)	.580
B-Q28	434 (96.9%)	.007
B-Q29	434 (96.9%)	.884
B-Q30	434 (96.9%)	.003
B-Q31	433 (96.7%)	.033
B-Q32	432 (96.4%)	.007
B-Q33	433 (96.7%)	.014
B-Q34	436 (97.3%)	.295
B-Q35	435 (97.1%)	.100
B-Q36	436 (97.3%)	.032
B-Q37	436 (97.3%)	.038
B-Q38	433 (96.7%)	.693
B-Q39	436 (97.3%)	.121
B-Q40	435 (97.1%)	.004
B-Q41	432 (96.4%)	.899
B-Q42	436 (97.3%)	.146
B-Q43	436 (97.3%)	.164
B-Q44	435 (97.1%)	.332
B-Q45	436 (97.3%)	.020
B-Q46	434 (96.9%)	.040
B-Q47	435 (97.1%)	.000
B-Q48	435 (97.1%)	.100
B-Q49	436 (97.3%)	.002

B-Q50	435 (97.1%)	.416
B-Q51	434 (96.9%)	.087
B-Q52	431 (96.2%)	.093
B-Q53	435 (97.1%)	.997
B-Q54	434 (96.9%)	.885
B-Q55	433 (96.7%)	.049
B-Q56	433 (96.7%)	.436
B-Q57	436 (97.3%)	.084
B-Q58	437 (97.5%)	.225
B-Q59	434 (96.9%)	.020
B-Q60	436 (97.3%)	.017
B-Q61	433 (96.7%)	.032
B-Q62	435 (97.1%)	.074
B-Q63	436 (97.3%)	.544
B-Q64	433 (96.7%)	.064
B-Q65	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q66	435 (97.1%)	.001
B-Q67	436 (97.3%)	.145

Appendix 12**Chi-Square Test with A-Q6**

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q1	438 (97.8%)	.728
B-Q2	440 (98.2%)	.000
B-Q3	438 (97.8%)	.000
B-Q4	438 (97.8%)	.662
B-Q5	432 (96.4%)	.287
B-Q6	437 (97.5%)	.000
B-Q7	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q8	438 (97.8%)	.857
B-Q9	436 (97.3%)	.990
B-Q10	436 (97.3%)	.127
B-Q11	435 (97.1%)	.030
B-Q12	437 (97.5%)	.147
B-Q13	435 (97.1%)	.035
B-Q14	434 (96.9%)	.005
B-Q15	435 (97.1%)	.000
B-Q16	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q17	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q18	433 (96.7%)	.405
B-Q19	435 (97.1%)	.738
B-Q20	436 (97.3%)	.007
B-Q21	436 (97.3%)	.211
B-Q22	436 (97.3%)	.077
B-Q23	433 (96.7%)	.174
B-Q24	436 (97.3%)	.802
B-Q25	434 (96.9%)	.166
B-Q26	435 (97.1%)	.284
B-Q27	435 (97.1%)	.191
B-Q28	435 (97.1%)	.725
B-Q29	435 (97.1%)	.818
B-Q30	435 (97.1%)	.001
B-Q31	434 (96.9%)	.002
B-Q32	433 (96.7%)	.000
B-Q33	434 (96.9%)	.177
B-Q34	437 (97.5%)	.082
B-Q35	436 (97.3%)	.422
B-Q36	437 (97.5%)	.897
B-Q37	437 (97.5%)	.513
B-Q38	434 (96.9%)	.230
B-Q39	437 (97.5%)	.260
B-Q40	436 (97.3%)	.631
B-Q41	433 (96.7%)	.190
B-Q42	437 (97.5%)	.610
B-Q43	437 (97.5%)	.155
B-Q44	436 (97.3%)	.500
B-Q45	437 (97.5%)	.733
B-Q46	435 (97.1%)	.151
B-Q47	437 (97.5%)	.001
B-Q48	436 (97.3%)	.004
B-Q49	437 (97.5%)	.000

B-Q50	436 (97.3%)	.883
B-Q51	435 (97.1%)	.005
B-Q52	432 (96.4%)	.092
B-Q53	436 (97.3%)	.430
B-Q54	435 (97.1%)	.066
B-Q55	434 (96.9%)	.000
B-Q56	434 (96.9%)	.151
B-Q57	437 (97.5%)	.545
B-Q58	438 (97.8%)	.113
B-Q59	435 (97.1%)	.753
B-Q60	437 (97.5%)	.312
B-Q61	434 (96.9%)	.005
B-Q62	436 (97.3%)	.558
B-Q63	437 (97.5%)	.120
B-Q64	434 (96.9%)	.102
B-Q65	435 (97.1%)	.041
B-Q66	436 (97.3%)	.029
B-Q67	437 (97.5%)	.643

Appendix 13

Chi-Square Test with A-Q7

Variable	Valid N (Percent)	Significance
B-Q1	432 (96.4%)	.221
B-Q2	434 (96.9%)	.836
B-Q3	432 (96.4%)	.174
B-Q4	432 (96.4%)	.081
B-Q5	427 (95.3%)	.022
B-Q6	431 (96.2%)	.010
B-Q7	428 (95.5%)	.102
B-Q8	432 (96.4%)	.345
B-Q9	430 (96.0%)	.427
B-Q10	430 (96.0%)	.002
B-Q11	429 (95.8%)	.034
B-Q12	431 (96.2%)	.288
B-Q13	429 (95.8%)	.006
B-Q14	428 (95.5%)	.023
B-Q15	429 (95.8%)	.060
B-Q16	428 (95.5%)	.190
B-Q17	428 (95.5%)	.085
B-Q18	427 (95.3%)	.073
B-Q19	429 (95.8%)	.047
B-Q20	430 (96.0%)	.029
B-Q21	430 (96.0%)	.223
B-Q22	430 (96.0%)	.094
B-Q23	427 (95.3%)	.974
B-Q24	430 (96.0%)	.061
B-Q25	428 (95.5%)	.363
B-Q26	429 (95.8%)	.419
B-Q27	429 (95.8%)	.020
B-Q28	429 (95.8%)	.500
B-Q29	429 (95.8%)	.116
B-Q30	429 (95.8%)	.246
B-Q31	428 (95.5%)	.318
B-Q32	427 (95.3%)	.257
B-Q33	428 (95.5%)	.140
B-Q34	431 (96.2%)	.905
B-Q35	430 (96.0%)	.259
B-Q36	431 (96.2%)	.118
B-Q37	431 (96.2%)	.155
B-Q38	428 (95.5%)	.769
B-Q39	431 (96.2%)	.023
B-Q40	430 (96.0%)	.179
B-Q41	427 (95.3%)	.572
B-Q42	431 (96.2%)	.061
B-Q43	431 (96.2%)	.935
B-Q44	430 (96.0%)	.379
B-Q45	431 (96.2%)	.251
B-Q46	429 (95.8%)	.858
B-Q47	431 (96.2%)	.353
B-Q48	430 (96.0%)	.922
B-Q49	431 (96.2%)	.222

B-Q50	430 (96.0%)	.048
B-Q51	429 (95.8%)	.867
B-Q52	426 (95.1%)	.197
B-Q53	430 (96.0%)	.555
B-Q54	429 (95.8%)	.365
B-Q55	429 (95.8%)	.192
B-Q56	429 (95.8%)	.208
B-Q57	431 (96.2%)	.312
B-Q58	432 (96.4%)	.817
B-Q59	429 (95.8%)	.052
B-Q60	431 (96.2%)	.119
B-Q61	428 (95.5%)	.008
B-Q62	430 (96.0%)	.116
B-Q63	431 (96.2%)	.820
B-Q64	428 (95.5%)	.122
B-Q65	429 (95.8%)	.453
B-Q66	430 (96.0%)	.352
B-Q67	431 (96.2%)	.063

Appendix 14

Independent Samples *t* Test

Variable	Number of SUA / SUJ (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q1	174 SUA (M=3.971) / 272 SUJ (M=3.853)	.000
B-Q2	176 SUA (M=4.014) / 272 SUJ (M=3.783)	.004
B-Q3	176 SUA (M=3.196) / 270 SUJ (M=2.822)	.000
B-Q4	176 SUA (M=2.068) / 270 SUJ (M=2.278)	.022
B-Q5	169 SUA (M=3.669) / 271 SUJ (M=3.815)	.105
B-Q6	176 SUA (M=4.341) / 269 SUJ (M=3.825)	.000
B-Q7	173 SUA (M=3.159) / 269 SUJ (M=3.204)	.628
B-Q8	175 SUA (M=3.360) / 271 SUJ (M=3.487)	.178
B-Q9	175 SUA (M=3.926) / 269 SUJ (M=3.918)	.927
B-Q10	175 SUA (M=3.069) / 269 SUJ (M=3.476)	.000
B-Q11	174 SUA (M=3.868) / 269 SUJ (M=4.067)	.017
B-Q12	174 SUA (M=3.569) / 271 SUJ (M=3.753)	.027
B-Q13	172 SUA (M=2.709) / 271 SUJ (M=3.277)	.000
B-Q14	172 SUA (M=2.558) / 270 SUJ (M=3.385)	.000
B-Q15	172 SUA (M=2.860) / 271 SUJ (M=3.745)	.000
B-Q16	172 SUA (M=2.756) / 270 SUJ (M=3.496)	.000
B-Q17	172 SUA (M=2.826) / 270 SUJ (M=3.578)	.000
B-Q18	172 SUA (M=3.669) / 269 SUJ (M=3.520)	.078
B-Q19	173 SUA (M=3.462) / 270 SUJ (M=3.600)	.109
B-Q20	173 SUA (M=3.040) / 271 SUJ (M=3.384)	.000
B-Q21	173 SUA (M=3.555) / 271 SUJ (M=3.808)	.002
B-Q22	173 SUA (M=3.289) / 271 SUJ (M=3.727)	.000
B-Q23	171 SUA (M=2.982) / 270 SUJ (M=3.381)	.000
B-Q24	173 SUA (M=2.936) / 271 SUJ (M=3.417)	.000
B-Q25	172 SUA (M=3.285) / 270 SUJ (M=3.300)	.856
B-Q26	172 SUA (M=3.523) / 271 SUJ (M=3.428)	.289
B-Q27	172 SUA (M=2.959) / 271 SUJ (M=3.122)	.070
B-Q28	172 SUA (M=3.390) / 271 SUJ (M=3.387)	.982
B-Q29	173 SUA (M=4.185) / 270 SUJ (M=3.996)	.005
B-Q30	173 SUA (M=2.572) / 270 SUJ (M=2.756)	.052
B-Q31	172 SUA (M=3.628) / 270 SUJ (M=3.078)	.000
B-Q32	173 SUA (M=3.237) / 268 SUJ (M=3.142)	.266
B-Q33	173 SUA (M=3.364) / 269 SUJ (M=3.387)	.815
B-Q34	174 SUA (M=3.707) / 271 SUJ (M=3.605)	.244
B-Q35	172 SUA (M=4.006) / 271 SUJ (M=4.247)	.006
B-Q36	173 SUA (M=3.156) / 272 SUJ (M=3.309)	.068
B-Q37	172 SUA (M=3.291) / 272 SUJ (M=3.647)	.000
B-Q38	171 SUA (M=3.860) / 271 SUJ (M=3.863)	.966
B-Q39	172 SUA (M=3.884) / 272 SUJ (M=4.294)	.000
B-Q40	173 SUA (M=3.116) / 271 SUJ (M=3.004)	.315
B-Q41	170 SUA (M=3.818) / 271 SUJ (M=3.841)	.758
B-Q42	173 SUA (M=3.861) / 272 SUJ (M=3.640)	.005
B-Q43	173 SUA (M=3.884) / 2702SUJ (M=4.158)	.000
B-Q44	173 SUA (M=3.838) / 271 SUJ (M=3.469)	.000
B-Q45	173 SUA (M=4.081) / 272 SUJ (M=4.290)	.003
B-Q46	173 SUA (M=3.572) / 270 SUJ (M=2.870)	.000
B-Q47	173 SUA (M=3.873) / 271 SUJ (M=2.952)	.000
B-Q48	173 SUA (M=3.948) / 271 SUJ (M=3.052)	.000
B-Q49	173 SUA (M=3.272) / 272 SUJ (M=2.441)	.000

B-Q50	173 SUA (M=4.052) / 271 SUJ (M=4.159)	.115
B-Q51	173 SUA (M=4.098) / 270 SUJ (M=3.670)	.000
B-Q52	173 SUA (M=4.006) / 267 SUJ (M=3.712)	.000
B-Q53	173 SUA (M=3.861) / 271 SUJ (M=3.996)	.071
B-Q54	172 SUA (M=4.215) / 271 SUJ (M=3.764)	.000
B-Q55	171 SUA (M=3.901) / 271 SUJ (M=3.402)	.000
B-Q56	170 SUA (M=3.765) / 272 SUJ (M=4.199)	.000
B-Q57	173 SUA (M=2.422) / 272 SUJ (M=2.596)	.058
B-Q58	174 SUA (M=2.638) / 272 SUJ (M=2.570)	.462
B-Q59	171 SUA (M=3.018) / 272 SUJ (M=2.676)	.001
B-Q60	173 SUA (M=2.457) / 272 SUJ (M=2.717)	.003
B-Q61	172 SUA (M=3.930) / 270 SUJ (M=3.252)	.000
B-Q62	173 SUA (M=3.786) / 271 SUJ (M=3.480)	.000
B-Q63	174 SUA (M=3.046) / 271 SUJ (M=3.539)	.000
B-Q64	172 SUA (M=2.983) / 270 SUJ (M=3.200)	.014
B-Q65	172 SUA (M=2.564) / 271 SUJ (M=3.018)	.000
B-Q66	174 SUA (M=2.276) / 270 SUJ (M=2.919)	.000
B-Q67	174 SUA (M=3.483) / 271 SUJ (M=3.565)	.345

Appendix 15**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of Male / Female SUA (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q1	56 Males (M=3.929) / 115 Females (M=3.974)	.719
B-Q2	56 Males (M=3.964) / 117 Females (M=4.064)	.456
B-Q3	56 Males (M=3.411) / 117 Females (M=3.056)	.042
B-Q4	56 Males (M=1.875) / 117 Females (M=2.145)	.076
B-Q5	53 Males (M=3.755) / 113 Females (M=3.655)	.541
B-Q6	56 Males (M=4.321) / 117 Females (M=4.376)	.609
B-Q7	56 Males (M=3.339) / 114 Females (M=3.075)	.105
B-Q8	56 Males (M=3.286) / 116 Females (M=3.397)	.488
B-Q9	56 Males (M=3.946) / 116 Females (M=3.905)	.749
B-Q10	56 Males (M=3.018) / 116 Females (M=3.086)	.682
B-Q11	56 Males (M=3.839) / 115 Females (M=3.887)	.721
B-Q12	56 Males (M=3.536) / 115 Females (M=3.583)	.747
B-Q13	56 Males (M=2.696) / 113 Females (M=2.699)	.988
B-Q14	56 Males (M=2.571) / 113 Females (M=2.531)	.802
B-Q15	56 Males (M=2.679) / 113 Females (M=2.947)	.167
B-Q16	56 Males (M=2.643) / 113 Females (M=2.805)	.368
B-Q17	56 Males (M=2.911) / 113 Females (M=2.796)	.546
B-Q18	56 Males (M=3.625) / 113 Females (M=3.690)	.637
B-Q19	56 Males (M=3.268) / 114 Females (M=3.588)	.035
B-Q20	56 Males (M=2.893) / 114 Females (M=3.105)	.167
B-Q21	56 Males (M=3.464) / 114 Females (M=3.588)	.401
B-Q22	56 Males (M=3.161) / 114 Females (M=3.351)	.209
B-Q23	55 Males (M=2.764) / 113 Females (M=3.088)	.039
B-Q24	56 Males (M=2.786) / 114 Females (M=3.000)	.140
B-Q25	56 Males (M=3.196) / 113 Females (M=3.319)	.408
B-Q26	56 Males (M=3.286) / 113 Females (M=3.637)	.029
B-Q27	56 Males (M=2.732) / 113 Females (M=3.062)	.040
B-Q28	56 Males (M=3.268) / 113 Females (M=3.451)	.249
B-Q29	56 Males (M=4.143) / 114 Females (M=4.219)	.488
B-Q30	56 Males (M=2.482) / 114 Females (M=2.614)	.410
B-Q31	56 Males (M=3.536) / 113 Females (M=3.690)	.806
B-Q32	55 Males (M=3.091) / 115 Females (M=3.313)	.144
B-Q33	56 Males (M=3.143) / 114 Females (M=3.465)	.047
B-Q34	56 Males (M=3.554) / 115 Females (M=3.800)	.106
B-Q35	56 Males (M=3.786) / 114 Females (M=4.123)	.043
B-Q36	56 Males (M=2.875) / 114 Females (M=3.298)	.005
B-Q37	56 Males (M=3.000) / 114 Females (M=3.456)	.003
B-Q38	55 Males (M=3.655) / 113 Females (M=3.973)	.037
B-Q39	56 Males (M=3.786) / 114 Females (M=3.965)	.272
B-Q40	56 Males (M=3.107) / 114 Females (M=3.132)	.902
B-Q41	56 Males (M=3.821) / 111 Females (M=3.820)	.991
B-Q42	56 Males (M=3.982) / 114 Females (M=3.789)	.114
B-Q43	56 Males (M=3.875) / 114 Females (M=3.895)	.879
B-Q44	56 Males (M=3.464) / 114 Females (M=4.026)	.000
B-Q45	56 Males (M=3.982) / 114 Females (M=4.140)	.242
B-Q46	56 Males (M=3.339) / 114 Females (M=3.684)	.016
B-Q47	56 Males (M=3.768) / 114 Females (M=3.921)	.240
B-Q48	56 Males (M=3.839) / 114 Females (M=4.000)	.237
B-Q49	56 Males (M=3.071) / 114 Females (M=3.360)	.033

B-Q50	56 Males (M=3.964) / 114 Females (M=4.096)	.264
B-Q51	56 Males (M=4.018) / 114 Females (M=4.140)	.298
B-Q52	56 Males (M=3.964) / 114 Females (M=4.035)	.585
B-Q53	56 Males (M=3.732) / 114 Females (M=3.930)	.147
B-Q54	55 Males (M=4.036) / 114 Females (M=4.298)	.037
B-Q55	56 Males (M=3.893) / 112 Females (M=3.920)	.841
B-Q56	55 Males (M=3.800) / 112 Females (M=3.741)	.704
B-Q57	56 Males (M=2.286) / 114 Females (M=2.491)	.228
B-Q58	56 Males (M=2.589) / 115 Females (M=2.670)	.600
B-Q59	55 Males (M=2.945) / 113 Females (M=3.053)	.556
B-Q60	56 Males (M=2.464) / 114 Females (M=2.439)	.856
B-Q61	55 Males (M=4.055) / 114 Females (M=3.921)	.397
B-Q62	56 Males (M=3.571) / 114 Females (M=3.904)	.023
B-Q63	56 Males (M=2.946) / 115 Females (M=3.113)	.310
B-Q64	55 Males (M=2.836) / 114 Females (M=3.053)	.154
B-Q65	56 Males (M=2.625) / 113 Females (M=2.540)	.560
B-Q66	56 Males (M=2.339) / 115 Females (M=2.243)	.405
B-Q67	56 Males (M=3.500) / 115 Females (M=3.470)	.843

Appendix 16

Independent Samples *t* Test

Variable	Number of Male / Female SUJ (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q1	118 Males (M=3.847) / 153 Females (M=3.856)	.926
B-Q2	118 Males (M=3.797) / 153 Females (M=3.771)	.806
B-Q3	116 Males (M=2.948) / 153 Females (M=2.732)	.097
B-Q4	116 Males (M=2.155) / 153 Females (M=2.379)	.051
B-Q5	117 Males (M=3.915) / 153 Females (M=3.745)	.083
B-Q6	117 Males (M=3.940) / 151 Females (M=3.728)	.075
B-Q7	117 Males (M=3.308) / 151 Females (M=3.132)	.132
B-Q8	117 Males (M=3.256) / 153 Females (M=3.667)	.001
B-Q9	115 Males (M=3.791) / 153 Females (M=4.020)	.039
B-Q10	117 Males (M=3.598) / 151 Females (M=3.371)	.031
B-Q11	116 Males (M=4.164) / 152 Females (M=3.987)	.117
B-Q12	117 Males (M=3.786) / 153 Females (M=3.725)	.539
B-Q13	117 Males (M=3.368) / 153 Females (M=3.222)	.170
B-Q14	117 Males (M=3.350) / 152 Females (M=3.401)	.599
B-Q15	117 Males (M=3.692) / 153 Females (M=3.791)	.362
B-Q16	116 Males (M=3.371) / 153 Females (M=3.595)	.046
B-Q17	116 Males (M=3.526) / 153 Females (M=3.621)	.423
B-Q18	115 Males (M=3.513) / 153 Females (M=3.523)	.927
B-Q19	116 Males (M=3.603) / 153 Females (M=3.595)	.936
B-Q20	117 Males (M=3.385) / 153 Females (M=3.379)	.952
B-Q21	117 Males (M=3.778) / 153 Females (M=3.830)	.564
B-Q22	117 Males (M=3.709) / 153 Females (M=3.732)	.826
B-Q23	117 Males (M=3.427) / 152 Females (M=3.336)	.383
B-Q24	117 Males (M=3.444) / 153 Females (M=3.405)	.741
B-Q25	117 Males (M=3.299) / 152 Females (M=3.309)	.917
B-Q26	117 Males (M=3.496) / 153 Females (M=3.386)	.307
B-Q27	117 Males (M=3.197) / 153 Females (M=3.078)	.268
B-Q28	117 Males (M=3.402) / 153 Females (M=3.379)	.850
B-Q29	117 Males (M=4.017) / 152 Females (M=3.980)	.684
B-Q30	117 Males (M=2.709) / 152 Females (M=2.783)	.545
B-Q31	117 Males (M=3.085) / 152 Females (M=3.072)	.900
B-Q32	116 Males (M=3.224) / 151 Females (M=3.086)	.203
B-Q33	117 Males (M=3.376) / 151 Females (M=3.404)	.816
B-Q34	117 Males (M=3.624) / 153 Females (M=3.595)	.786
B-Q35	117 Males (M=4.179) / 153 Females (M=4.294)	.272
B-Q36	118 Males (M=3.271) / 153 Females (M=3.340)	.505
B-Q37	118 Males (M=3.500) / 153 Females (M=3.765)	.014
B-Q38	117 Males (M=3.778) / 153 Females (M=3.928)	.192
B-Q39	118 Males (M=4.237) / 153 Females (M=4.333)	.324
B-Q40	118 Males (M=3.153) / 152 Females (M=2.888)	.036
B-Q41	118 Males (M=3.881) / 152 Females (M=3.803)	.380
B-Q42	118 Males (M=3.551) / 153 Females (M=3.699)	.145
B-Q43	118 Males (M=4.195) / 153 Females (M=4.124)	.414
B-Q44	117 Males (M=3.359) / 153 Females (M=3.542)	.092
B-Q45	118 Males (M=4.373) / 153 Females (M=4.222)	.069
B-Q46	118 Males (M=2.864) / 151 Females (M=2.874)	.927
B-Q47	117 Males (M=2.915) / 153 Females (M=2.980)	.497
B-Q48	118 Males (M=3.051) / 152 Females (M=3.059)	.942
B-Q49	118 Males (M=2.441) / 153 Females (M=2.444)	.973

B-Q50	117 Males (M=4.137) / 153 Females (M=4.183)	.593
B-Q51	117 Males (M=3.761) / 152 Females (M=3.605)	.201
B-Q52	117 Males (M=3.906) / 149 Females (M=3.564)	.002
B-Q53	117 Males (M=3.966) / 153 Females (M=4.020)	.514
B-Q54	117 Males (M=3.761) / 153 Females (M=3.765)	.968
B-Q55	117 Males (M=3.530) / 153 Females (M=3.307)	.029
B-Q56	118 Males (M=4.186) / 153 Females (M=4.209)	.806
B-Q57	118 Males (M=2.508) / 153 Females (M=2.667)	.139
B-Q58	118 Males (M=2.364) / 153 Females (M=2.732)	.002
B-Q59	118 Males (M=2.534) / 153 Females (M=2.791)	.046
B-Q60	118 Males (M=2.559) / 153 Females (M=2.843)	.016
B-Q61	117 Males (M=3.350) / 152 Females (M=3.184)	.172
B-Q62	117 Males (M=3.376) / 153 Females (M=3.569)	.081
B-Q63	117 Males (M=3.410) / 153 Females (M=3.647)	.052
B-Q64	117 Males (M=3.128) / 152 Females (M=3.250)	.290
B-Q65	117 Males (M=3.017) / 153 Females (M=3.020)	.982
B-Q66	117 Males (M=2.991) / 152 Females (M=2.868)	.230
B-Q67	117 Males (M=3.521) / 153 Females (M=3.601)	.463

Appendix 17**One-Way Anova**

Variable	Anova Significance	Test of Homogeneity	Age Group	Dunnett's T3 or LSD Significance
B-Q1	.266	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q2	.337	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q3	.440	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q4	.035	.108	16-20 & 21-25	.561
			16-20 & 26-30	.407
			16-20 & 31-35	.114
			16-20 & 36-40	.010
			16-20 & 41-45	.251
			16-20 & over 46	.516
			21-25 & 26-30	.670
			21-25 & 31-35	.066
			21-25 & 36-40	.005
			21-25 & 41-45	.404
			21-25 & over 46	.353
			26-30 & 31-35	.060
			26-30 & 36-40	.008
			26-30 & 41-45	.660
			26-30 & over 46	.271
			31-35 & 36-40	.520
			31-35 & 41-45	.043
			31-35 & over 46	.506
			36-40 & 41-45	.007
			36-40 & over 46	.189
			41-45 & over 46	.177
B-Q5	.410	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q6	.325	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q7	.677	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q8	.620	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q9	.547	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q10	.002	.897	16-20 & 21-25	.002
			16-20 & 26-30	.001
			16-20 & 31-35	.062
			16-20 & 36-40	.784
			16-20 & 41-45	.068
			16-20 & over 46	.031
			21-25 & 26-30	.184
			21-25 & 31-35	.880
			21-25 & 36-40	.127
			21-25 & 41-45	.786
			21-25 & over 46	.603
			26-30 & 31-35	.402
			26-30 & 36-40	.023
			26-30 & 41-45	.507
			26-30 & over 46	.626
			31-35 & 36-40	.202
			31-35 & 41-45	.914
			31-35 & over 46	.766
			36-40 & 41-45	.191

B-Q10	.002	.897	36-40 & over 46	.122
			41-45 & over 46	.860
B-Q11	.166	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q12	.623	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q13	.175	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q14	.343	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q15	.063	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q16	.085	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q17	.015	.025	16-20 & 21-25	.922
			16-20 & 26-30	.184
			16-20 & 31-35	.004
			16-20 & 36-40	.997
			16-20 & 41-45	.955
			16-20 & over 46	.508
			21-25 & 26-30	.991
			21-25 & 31-35	.133
			21-25 & 36-40	1.000
			21-25 & 41-45	1.000
			21-25 & over 46	.959
			26-30 & 31-35	.907
			26-30 & 36-40	1.000
			26-30 & 41-45	1.000
			26-30 & over 46	1.000
			31-35 & 36-40	.794
			31-35 & 41-45	.997
			31-35 & over 46	1.000
			36-40 & 41-45	1.000
			36-40 & over 46	.999
			41-45 & over 46	1.000
B-Q18	.824	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q19	.885	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q20	.441	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q21	.296	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q22	.152	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q23	.102	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q24	.746	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q25	.712	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q26	.872	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q27	.107	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q28	.728	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q29	.608	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q30	.148	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q31	.776	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q32	.712	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q33	.646	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q34	.673	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q35	.605	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q36	.682	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q37	.594	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q38	.451	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q39	.683	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q40	.921	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q41	.089	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q42	.492	N/A	N/A	N/A

B-Q43	.794	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q44	.565	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q45	.465	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q46	.880	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q47	.814	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q48	.672	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q49	.245	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q50	.930	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q51	.483	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q52	.446	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q53	.212	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q54	.926	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q55	.068	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q56	.593	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q57	.897	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q58	.820	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q59	.838	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q60	.543	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q61	.664	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q62	.938	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q63	.180	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q64	.864	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q65	.662	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q66	.761	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q67	.666	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix 18**One-Way Anova**

Variable	Anova Significance	Test of Homogeneity	Age Group	Dunnett's T3 or LSD Significance
B-Q1	.992	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q2	.572	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q3	.078	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q4	.404	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q5	.867	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q6	.096	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q7	.778	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q8	.867	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q9	.394	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q10	.936	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q11	.401	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q12	.979	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q13	.112	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q14	.154	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q15	.518	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q16	.736	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q17	.929	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q18	.242	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q19	.299	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q20	.198	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q21	.432	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q22	.781	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q23	.934	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q24	.050	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q25	.826	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q26	.094	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q27	.550	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q28	.002	.043	16-20 & 21-25	1.000
			16-20 & 26-30	.000
			16-20 & 36-40	.640
			16-20 & 41-45	.174
			16-20 & over 46	.722
			21-25 & 26-30	.000
			21-25 & 36-40	.603
			21-25 & 41-45	.137
			21-25 & over 46	.771
			26-30 & 36-40	.938
			26-30 & 41-45	.716
			26-30 & over 46	.444
			36-40 & 41-45	1.000
			36-40 & over 46	.358
			41-45 & over 46	.293
B-Q29	.940	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q30	.851	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q31	.600	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q32	.321	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q33	.690	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q34	.264	N/A	N/A	N/A

B-Q35	.248	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q36	.875	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q37	.715	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q38	.658	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q39	.945	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q40	.129	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q41	.690	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q42	.115	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q43	.274	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q44	.734	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q45	.934	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q46	.719	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q47	.220	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q48	.510	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q49	.664	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q50	.487	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q51	.474	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q52	.776	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q53	.716	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q54	.830	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q55	.828	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q56	.408	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q57	.614	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q58	.331	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q59	.840	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q60	.102	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q61	.532	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q62	.817	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q63	.297	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q64	.545	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q65	.874	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q66	.547	N/A	N/A	N/A
B-Q67	.476	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix 19**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of SEFL / SJFL (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q1	159 SEFL (M=3.962) / 254 SJFL (M=3.839)	.103
B-Q2	161 SEFL (M=4.068) / 254 SJFL (M=3.772)	.000
B-Q3	161 SEFL (M=3.177) / 252 SJFL (M=2.829)	.001
B-Q4	161 SEFL (M=2.006) / 252 SJFL (M=2.274)	.026
B-Q5	154 SEFL (M=3.727) / 253 SJFL (M=3.830)	.227
B-Q6	161 SEFL (M=4.410) / 251 SJFL (M=3.809)	.000
B-Q7	158 SEFL (M=3.123) / 251 SJFL (M=3.251)	.192
B-Q8	160 SEFL (M=3.375) / 253 SJFL (M=3.470)	.332
B-Q9	160 SEFL (M=3.906) / 251 SJFL (M=3.924)	.834
B-Q10	160 SEFL (M=3.056) / 251 SJFL (M=3.462)	.000
B-Q11	159 SEFL (M=3.824) / 251 SJFL (M=4.052)	.012
B-Q12	159 SEFL (M=3.553) / 253 SJFL (M=3.763)	.017
B-Q13	158 SEFL (M=2.658) / 253 SJFL (M=3.289)	.000
B-Q14	158 SEFL (M=2.519) / 252 SJFL (M=3.369)	.000
B-Q15	158 SEFL (M=2.861) / 253 SJFL (M=3.759)	.000
B-Q16	158 SEFL (M=2.741) / 252 SJFL (M=3.508)	.000
B-Q17	158 SEFL (M=2.816) / 252 SJFL (M=3.583)	.000
B-Q18	159 SEFL (M=3.673) / 251 SJFL (M=3.490)	.035
B-Q19	159 SEFL (M=3.478) / 252 SJFL (M=3.595)	.193
B-Q20	159 SEFL (M=3.031) / 253 SJFL (M=3.391)	.000
B-Q21	159 SEFL (M=3.541) / 253 SJFL (M=3.826)	.001
B-Q22	159 SEFL (M=3.270) / 253 SJFL (M=3.731)	.000
B-Q23	157 SEFL (M=2.962) / 252 SJFL (M=3.393)	.000
B-Q24	159 SEFL (M=2.893) / 253 SJFL (M=3.411)	.000
B-Q25	158 SEFL (M=3.259) / 252 SJFL (M=3.325)	.453
B-Q26	158 SEFL (M=3.494) / 253 SJFL (M=3.439)	.557
B-Q27	158 SEFL (M=2.949) / 253 SJFL (M=3.142)	.038
B-Q28	158 SEFL (M=3.367) / 253 SJFL (M=3.399)	.740
B-Q29	159 SEFL (M=4.214) / 252 SJFL (M=4.000)	.003
B-Q30	159 SEFL (M=2.535) / 252 SJFL (M=2.742)	.036
B-Q31	158 SEFL (M=3.671) / 252 SJFL (M=3.067)	.000
B-Q32	158 SEFL (M=3.222) / 250 SJFL (M=3.160)	.498
B-Q33	158 SEFL (M=3.361) / 251 SJFL (M=3.386)	.798
B-Q34	159 SEFL (M=3.736) / 253 SJFL (M=3.605)	.153
B-Q35	158 SEFL (M=4.019) / 253 SJFL (M=4.245)	.013
B-Q36	158 SEFL (M=3.165) / 254 SJFL (M=3.307)	.102
B-Q37	158 SEFL (M=3.285) / 254 SJFL (M=3.654)	.000
B-Q38	156 SEFL (M=3.853) / 253 SJFL (M=3.862)	.922
B-Q39	158 SEFL (M=3.873) / 254 SJFL (M=4.291)	.000
B-Q40	158 SEFL (M=3.108) / 253 SJFL (M=3.008)	.394
B-Q41	156 SEFL (M=3.808) / 253 SJFL (M=3.834)	.758
B-Q42	158 SEFL (M=3.880) / 254 SJFL (M=3.626)	.002
B-Q43	158 SEFL (M=3.867) / 254 SJFL (M=4.169)	.000
B-Q44	158 SEFL (M=3.829) / 253 SJFL (M=3.478)	.000
B-Q45	158 SEFL (M=4.044) / 254 SJFL (M=4.295)	.001
B-Q46	158 SEFL (M=3.339) / 252 SJFL (M=2.881)	.000
B-Q47	158 SEFL (M=3.886) / 253 SJFL (M=2.949)	.000
B-Q48	158 SEFL (M=3.911) / 253 SJFL (M=3.036)	.000
B-Q49	158 SEFL (M=3.247) / 254 SJFL (M=2.441)	.000

B-Q50	158 SEFL (M=4.019) / 253 SJFL (M=4.158)	.046
B-Q51	158 SEFL (M=4.082) / 252 SJFL (M=3.683)	.000
B-Q52	158 SEFL (M=3.994) / 251 SJFL (M=3.721)	.001
B-Q53	158 SEFL (M=3.829) / 253 SJFL (M=3.992)	.036
B-Q54	157 SEFL (M=4.204) / 253 SJFL (M=3.759)	.000
B-Q55	156 SEFL (M=3.872) / 253 SJFL (M=3.399)	.000
B-Q56	155 SEFL (M=3.735) / 254 SJFL (M=4.201)	.000
B-Q57	158 SEFL (M=2.361) / 254 SJFL (M=2.626)	.007
B-Q58	159 SEFL (M=2.635) / 254 SJFL (M=2.571)	.508
B-Q59	156 SEFL (M=3.006) / 254 SJFL (M=2.661)	.002
B-Q60	159 SEFL (M=2.396) / 254 SJFL (M=2.709)	.001
B-Q61	157 SEFL (M=3.981) / 252 SJFL (M=3.274)	.000
B-Q62	158 SEFL (M=3.797) / 253 SJFL (M=3.514)	.002
B-Q63	159 SEFL (M=3.013) / 253 SJFL (M=4.533)	.000
B-Q64	157 SEFL (M=2.930) / 252 SJFL (M=3.190)	.006
B-Q65	157 SEFL (M=2.510) / 253 SJFL (M=3.008)	.000
B-Q66	159 SEFL (M=2.264) / 252 SJFL (M=2.897)	.000
B-Q67	159 SEFL (M=3.459) / 253 SJFL (M=3.569)	.230

Appendix 20**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of Undergraduate / Postgraduate (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q1	138 Undergraduates (M=3.978) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.810)	.477
B-Q2	139 Undergraduates (M=3.978) / 22 Postgraduates (M=4.182)	.266
B-Q3	139 Undergraduates (M=3.191) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.182)	.972
B-Q4	139 Undergraduates (M=2.029) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.000)	.889
B-Q5	132 Undergraduates (M=3.712) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.636)	.731
B-Q6	139 Undergraduates (M=4.324) / 22 Postgraduates (M=4.364)	.815
B-Q7	137 Undergraduates (M=3.150) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.182)	.889
B-Q8	138 Undergraduates (M=3.355) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.409)	.812
B-Q9	138 Undergraduates (M=3.942) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.727)	.227
B-Q10	138 Undergraduates (M=3.174) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.500)	.004
B-Q11	137 Undergraduates (M=3.788) / 22 Postgraduates (M=4.136)	.066
B-Q12	137 Undergraduates (M=3.606) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.318)	.248
B-Q13	136 Undergraduates (M=2.787) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.476)	.211
B-Q14	136 Undergraduates (M=2.588) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.333)	.250
B-Q15	136 Undergraduates (M=2.956) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.571)	.156
B-Q16	136 Undergraduates (M=2.838) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.571)	.292
B-Q17	136 Undergraduates (M=2.971) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.286)	.009
B-Q18	137 Undergraduates (M=3.664) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.990
B-Q19	137 Undergraduates (M=3.409) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.211
B-Q20	137 Undergraduates (M=3.051) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.817
B-Q21	137 Undergraduates (M=3.606) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.381)	.386
B-Q22	137 Undergraduates (M=3.350) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.810)	.010
B-Q23	136 Undergraduates (M=2.985) / 20 Postgraduates (M=3.050)	.775
B-Q24	137 Undergraduates (M=2.891) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.588
B-Q25	136 Undergraduates (M=3.250) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.143)	.675
B-Q26	136 Undergraduates (M=3.419) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.762)	.127
B-Q27	136 Undergraduates (M=2.963) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.667)	.197
B-Q28	136 Undergraduates (M=3.368) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.238)	.567
B-Q29	137 Undergraduates (M=4.204) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.143)	.701
B-Q30	137 Undergraduates (M=2.584) / 21 Postgraduates (M=2.381)	.369
B-Q31	136 Undergraduates (M=3.625) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.591)	.879
B-Q32	136 Undergraduates (M=3.169) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.091)	.706
B-Q33	136 Undergraduates (M=3.309) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.318)	.967
B-Q34	137 Undergraduates (M=3.672) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.682)	.962
B-Q35	136 Undergraduates (M=3.963) / 22 Postgraduates (M=4.091)	.575
B-Q36	136 Undergraduates (M=3.059) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.136)	.708
B-Q37	136 Undergraduates (M=3.154) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.455)	.178
B-Q38	134 Undergraduates (M=3.828) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.773)	.795
B-Q39	136 Undergraduates (M=3.824) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.864)	.856
B-Q40	136 Undergraduates (M=3.125) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.318)	.488
B-Q41	134 Undergraduates (M=3.851) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.909)	.765
B-Q42	136 Undergraduates (M=3.963) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.591)	.079
B-Q43	137 Undergraduates (M=3.898) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.048)	.410
B-Q44	137 Undergraduates (M=3.832) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.810)	.909
B-Q45	137 Undergraduates (M=4.124) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.143)	.915
B-Q46	137 Undergraduates (M=3.577) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.571)	.980
B-Q47	137 Undergraduates (M=3.912) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.714)	.281
B-Q48	137 Undergraduates (M=3.949) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.952)	.986
B-Q49	137 Undergraduates (M=3.248) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.190)	.773

B-Q50	137 Undergraduates (M=4.066) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.048)	.913
B-Q51	137 Undergraduates (M=4.088) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.143)	.802
B-Q52	137 Undergraduates (M=4.007) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.095)	.631
B-Q53	137 Undergraduates (M=3.839) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.048)	.277
B-Q54	136 Undergraduates (M=4.228) / 21 Postgraduates (M=4.190)	.835
B-Q55	135 Undergraduates (M=3.896) / 21 Postgraduates (M=3.952)	.767
B-Q56	136 Undergraduates (M=3.750) / 19 Postgraduates (M=3.789)	.866
B-Q57	136 Undergraduates (M=2.404) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.500)	.688
B-Q58	137 Undergraduates (M=2.672) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.682)	.962
B-Q59	134 Undergraduates (M=2.993) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.182)	.460
B-Q60	137 Undergraduates (M=2.482) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.136)	.073
B-Q61	135 Undergraduates (M=3.933) / 22 Postgraduates (M=4.273)	.123
B-Q62	136 Undergraduates (M=3.721) / 22 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.163
B-Q63	137 Undergraduates (M=3.073) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.864)	.365
B-Q64	135 Undergraduates (M=3.007) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.727)	.184
B-Q65	136 Undergraduates (M=2.581) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.455)	.536
B-Q66	137 Undergraduates (M=2.277) / 22 Postgraduates (M=2.045)	.097
B-Q67	137 Undergraduates (M=3.460) / 22 Postgraduates (M=3.636)	.412

Appendix 21**Independent Samples *t* Test**

Variable	Number of Undergraduate / Postgraduate (M=Mean Value)	Significance
B-Q1	258 Undergraduates (M=3.857) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.662
B-Q2	258 Undergraduates (M=3.787) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.799
B-Q3	256 Undergraduates (M=2.852) / 3 Postgraduates (M=2.667)	.763
B-Q4	256 Undergraduates (M=2.273) / 3 Postgraduates (M=2.333)	.912
B-Q5	257 Undergraduates (M=3.825) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.707
B-Q6	256 Undergraduates (M=3.836) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.760
B-Q7	255 Undergraduates (M=3.208) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.333)	.819
B-Q8	257 Undergraduates (M=3.486) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q9	256 Undergraduates (M=3.930) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.333)	.416
B-Q10	255 Undergraduates (M=3.475) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.700
B-Q11	255 Undergraduates (M=4.067) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.333)	.615
B-Q12	257 Undergraduates (M=3.755) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.529
B-Q13	257 Undergraduates (M=3.272) / 3 Postgraduates (M=2.333)	.056
B-Q14	256 Undergraduates (M=3.363) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.511
B-Q15	257 Undergraduates (M=3.743) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.880
B-Q16	256 Undergraduates (M=3.492) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.734
B-Q17	256 Undergraduates (M=3.582) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.333)	.646
B-Q18	255 Undergraduates (M=3.525) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q19	256 Undergraduates (M=3.613) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q20	257 Undergraduates (M=3.362) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.477
B-Q21	257 Undergraduates (M=3.805) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.743
B-Q22	257 Undergraduates (M=3.724) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.906
B-Q23	256 Undergraduates (M=3.375) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.560
B-Q24	257 Undergraduates (M=3.412) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.635
B-Q25	256 Undergraduates (M=3.293) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q26	257 Undergraduates (M=3.440) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q27	257 Undergraduates (M=3.132) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.794
B-Q28	257 Undergraduates (M=3.385) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.333)	.922
B-Q29	256 Undergraduates (M=4.004) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.414
B-Q30	257 Undergraduates (M=2.728) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.092
B-Q31	256 Undergraduates (M=3.074) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.059
B-Q32	254 Undergraduates (M=3.142) / 3 Postgraduates (M=2.667)	.325
B-Q33	255 Undergraduates (M=3.380) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.610
B-Q34	257 Undergraduates (M=3.591) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.883
B-Q35	257 Undergraduates (M=4.245) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.245
B-Q36	258 Undergraduates (M=3.302) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.441
B-Q37	258 Undergraduates (M=3.643) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.963
B-Q38	257 Undergraduates (M=3.860) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.793
B-Q39	258 Undergraduates (M=4.298) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.000
B-Q40	257 Undergraduates (M=3.012) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.269
B-Q41	258 Undergraduates (M=3.829) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.333)	.238
B-Q42	258 Undergraduates (M=3.636) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.333)	.511
B-Q43	258 Undergraduates (M=4.163) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.214
B-Q44	257 Undergraduates (M=3.455) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.670
B-Q45	258 Undergraduates (M=4.295) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.102
B-Q46	256 Undergraduates (M=2.855) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.333)	.329
B-Q47	257 Undergraduates (M=2.946) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.107
B-Q48	257 Undergraduates (M=3.043) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.333)	.583
B-Q49	259 Undergraduates (M=2.422) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.016

B-Q50	257 Undergraduates (M=4.175) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.655
B-Q51	256 Undergraduates (M=3.672) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.572
B-Q52	254 Undergraduates (M=3.724) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q53	257 Undergraduates (M=4.000) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	1.000
B-Q54	257 Undergraduates (M=3.759) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.849
B-Q55	257 Undergraduates (M=3.385) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.564
B-Q56	258 Undergraduates (M=4.202) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.639
B-Q57	258 Undergraduates (M=2.605) / 3 Postgraduates (M=2.333)	.596
B-Q58	258 Undergraduates (M=2.581) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.333)	.181
B-Q59	258 Undergraduates (M=2.671) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q60	258 Undergraduates (M=2.736) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.000
B-Q61	256 Undergraduates (M=3.246) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.667)	.467
B-Q62	257 Undergraduates (M=3.494) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.347
B-Q63	257 Undergraduates (M=3.545) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.327
B-Q64	257 Undergraduates (M=3.195) / 3 Postgraduates (M=3.000)	.001
B-Q65	257 Undergraduates (M=3.019) / 3 Postgraduates (M=2.667)	.472
B-Q66	256 Undergraduates (M=2.926) / 3 Postgraduates (M=2.667)	.595
B-Q67	257 Undergraduates (M=3.564) / 3 Postgraduates (M=4.000)	.387